

THE
Happy Union
OF
ENGLAND
AND
HOLLAND:

OR, THE
Advantageous CONSEQUENCES
OF THE
ALLIANCE
OF THE
CROWN of GREAT BRITAIN
WITH THE
States General of the United Provinces.

Licensed, May the 20th. 1689.

LONDON,

Printed for Richard Baldwin in the Old-Baily, 1689.

Happy Union

IN GLAND

HOLLAND

OF THE

ALLIANCE

OF THE

CROWN OF GREAT BRITAIN

WITH THE

State Council of the United Provinces

LONDON

Printed for P. A. Colclough, 10, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1840

Right Reverend Father in God Gilbert
Lord Bishop of Salisbury.

My Lord,

THE Happy Consequences of a
settld Alliance and Union between
their Majesties of Great Britain, and the
States of the United Provinces, are that which
these few Sheets have undertak'n to make out;
as being necessary for the safety and repose of
both in particular, and of the Protestant In-
terest in general. How zealously Your Lord-
ship has always Labour'd the Advancement of
the Latter, and how Instrumental you have
been to promote the Former, is not unknown to
all the World. For this reason, the Author
of this Treatise, really intended for the good
of both Nations, is so Ambitious as he is, to
appear in the English Dialect, under Your
Lordship's Patronage and Protection from
the Censures of those, who make it their busi-
ness to disturb the Public Tranquility both of

The EPISTLE, &c.

Church and State. Not doubting through
Your Lordships Favour of the same Recep-
tion here, as the Original had in the place that
gave it Birth; Yet humbly craving on the other
side, Your Lordships Pardon, for the Confi-
dence of this Address; which speaks, how-
ever the High Esteem and Honour that all
Men, who value the true Religion, the Laws
and Liberties of their Country, have for Your
Person; but more especially of,

Your most Humble, and

Most Obedient Servant,

R. W.

The Necessity of a Union between the ENGLISH and HOLLANDERS.

U usually we judge, by the Event, of the Uprightness or Injustice of human Actions, and of the Prudence or Indiscretion of those that Act. The Philosophers take upon them to make their Comments upon these inconsiderate Judgments, That vulgar Opinion carries it, That is to say, that they who prosper pass for Wise, and many times for Vertuous Men ; they who are unfortunate are lookt upon as imprudent ; and sometimes which is worse, as wicked and impious. A Kingdom oppress'd with exactions becomes enrag'd against the Contrivers of their Misery, and revolts against those that Officiate in the Tyrannies of the Court. Therefore Forces are sent to quell and dissipate the mutinous Multitude, their Ringleaders are seiz'd, and put to Death by all the most infamous and cruel ways of Execution ; nor do they grant any Act of Oblivion to the rest, but by charging them with new Taxes and Impositions. And as a Consummation of their Misfortunes, their Posterity attribute all their Miseries to them, and Historians range them in the Number of Factious and Rebels, justly depriv'd of their Liberties and their Ancient Priviledges. For these thirty Years the Kings of *England* have labour'd to render themselves Absolute, they have gradually disposyl'd the Cities and Corporations of their Charters, and made it their business to introduce Popery into their three Kingdoms : well knowing that the Alteration of the Establish'd Religion trailes after it the Change of the Government and the Laws ; and no less assur'd, that of all the Christian Sects, the *Roman* is that which best agrees with Arbitrary Dominion, and is most proper to inspire blind Obedience.

The *English* weary'd with their Sufferings, privately call in the Prince of *Orange*; and that great *Hero* was receiv'd into the *Island* as their *Tutelar-Angel*, but with so much Order and Unanimity, that the suddain Commotion was taken rather for a public Rejoycing then a *Rebellious Insurrection*. Some make hast to meet him, others set up his Standard, while the King disturb'd in Mind, perplex'd and astonish'd, withdraws without striking a stroke, and punishes himself with a voluntary Exile, for having followed the Advice of his Evil Counsellors. All *Europe* admires so suddain a Revolution. The Protestants look upon him as a Prodigy of Heaven, sent for the relief of Truth oppress'd. The moderate *Catholics* acknowledge the Justice of the Prince of *Oranges* Designs, applaud the mildness which he exercises toward their Brethren, and impute the unkindness which he has for their Religion, at this Conjecture, to the violent Counsels of the *Jesuits*. The Politicians of both Parties look upon the Success, as the Effect of a Transcendent Genius, which Heaven has been pleas'd to Favour, whether to set Enslav'd *Europe* at Liberty, or whether it were to shew that Prudence and Mildness are more assur'd and efficacious means to attain their Ends, then the Sanguinary Maxims of *Maachiavel*. Lastly, Persons of the clearest Intellects, and most perspicacious insight into Affairs, believe that nothing can be above the reach of that Prince who has shewn himself able to carry on for many Years a Design of so great Importance unknown to his Enemies, or any other, who had no occasion to be interested therein. A Prince who has United several Sovereign Potentates against *France*; who has so well managed the Inclinations and Humours of three Kingdoms, of several distant Plantations, and a Powerful Commonwealth, for a long time harass'd by various Factions, as to lodger them into Unanimity. A Prince in a Word, who after he has taken time to reflect and consider, puts his Resolutions in Execution with a courage and swiftness beyond imagination. 'Tis

'Tis true, the Sloath, the Ignorance, and the Necessity which constrains some Men to submit to a present Con-
juncture, and to side with the strongest Party, are without
question the real sources of those applauses, which are given
to those whom happy Success has exalted above others.
Add to this that how desirous so ever Men may be to ingra-
tiate themselves with such Persons, yet they are always willing
to act conformably to their own Understandings. So that
Self-Love, being willing to reconcile these two Passions, easi-
ly perswades us, that our Flatteries are just, and that the
Grandees are beholding to their Merit for their advance-
ment. Moreover it is most certain that these successful Per-
sons are many times highly worthy of Honour, and that
Prudence and Indiscretion are the most usual causes of the
good or bad Success of Men; of which, they who only un-
derstand the most known Circumstances of the Revolu-
tion of *England*, may convince themselves with little
trouble.

But if Men are so quick in judging of things done, on
the other side, they are so slow, to determine when they ought
to Act, that their mistiming Execution, or their Wavering and
Hesitation becomes the disappointment of the greatest and
most noble Designs. They whose Interest it is to oppose
them fill their Minds with panick Fears, or desperate Mistrusts
and Jealousies; and in regard that the number of Persons
timorous and jealous are very numerous; and for that idle, and
imaginary Fear works a more signal Effect upon such, than a
hope and assurance grounded upon Reason; therefore
that a Man may act with Prudence upon such occasions, it
behoves him to take a convenient time to examine the Cir-
cumstances of Time, of Places and Persons, and then to re-
solve, and pursue his design by the shortest ways and means,
provided they be honest and lawful.

If a Man may be permitted to deliberate before he en-
gages in an Enterprize, the same Liberty is not allowed

him, after once he has began the Execution of it; for that the Ignominy is no less, then the danger to abandon a glorious Undertaking. Every moment that a Man looses in consulting whether he shall go on or no, are as so many foot of ground which a Man surrenders to his Enemy, and as so many paces that he retreats from his Adversary.

England and the *United Provinces* have Contracted a most strait Alliance one with another by Vertue of that Aid and Assistance with which the *States General* furnish'd his Royal Highness *Monsieur* the Prince of *Orange*, toward the Resettlement of the Laws and Religion, under Oppression and Tyranny, in that Island. Now certain it is, that if these two Nations continue a good Correspondence, they will be the Terror of their Enemies, the Sanctuary of their Neighbours, the support of their Allies, and it may be the Restorers of *Europe* to her Liberties. There is nothing appears capable in all probability to prevent the Effects of this Union, but the fond Opinion which some weak and inadvertent People may give to Spies, or other Persons corrupted by the *French*, who labour to beaz into their Ears imaginary future Inconveniences and Disturbances. But tho' there be very little likelihood that such ill-dispos'd People should ever get the Upper hand, or make any considerable Progress in their Designs; Nevertheless, whether it be out of my abundance of precaution; or that it is a pleasing thing to let the World know that a Man has Reason of his side, I thought it my duty to oblige the public, by shewing how weak the Pretensions of those People are who argue against this Union, and the real Interest of these two Nations to preserve it inviolable.

All that their Enemies can invent of most plausible to insinuate into the two Nations a Mistrust of the Prince, or a Jealousie of one another, is to be reduc'd to these Six Heads.
1. That a King or Regent in *England*, being likewise Governour or *Generalissimo* of the *United Provinces* is too puissant.

issant. 2. That the *English* and *Hollanders* being both formidable by Sea, and gaining their Principal Riches by Commerce and Trade, can never flourish but by the subduing of the one to the other. 3. That the two Nations being thus Jealous of their mutual Prosperity, it will be easie for a Politic Prince to make use of the one to invade the Liberties and Priviledges of the other. 4. That the Prince of *Orange* being a *Presbyterian* will favour the *Nonconformists* of *England*, and permit the Puritan Party in *Scotland* to keep their Station on purpose to weaken the Episcopal Party in *England*. 5. That this Prince has already given great Proofs of his Activity and Policy, by acquiring more Power in the United Provinces then any of his Predecessors, and by engaging the *States General* in the Expedition into *England* without any Engagement that could urge them to it. 6. That tho' the Prince himself were never so sincere in his own intentions, as he cannot be in two places at one time, it will not be possible for him to satisfy two Nations always accusom'd to see their Prince at home among them, and to enjoy him intirely to themselves; and that therefore let him divide his time after what manner soever he pleases, it will be a difficult Matter for him to please both the one and the other.

1. I must acknowledge, in the first place, that the Protestants never yet had so potent a Prince, as the Prince of *Orange* is like at one time or other to be, if it pleases God to hear our Prayers, and bless his pious Designs: but I dare maintain at the same time, that we have no reason in the world to be in the least Suspicious of him. His Highness till this very day has never given any other then real Marks of his Moderation, Mildness and Love of the public good. During the War of the Year 1672. in the time when the Prince had many Enemies, when near three of the Provinces were already dismember'd from the Union: When every one thought it the safest Course to shift for himself, the

the Mischief being without Remedy, the King of *France* then offer'd him the Sovereignty of the Country of *Holland*, and several other Places; But the generous Prince despising that Grandeur which he could not attain but by abandoning his Unfortunate Country, chose rather to expose himself to all the dangers that threaten the Chieftain of a ruin'd Party, then to accept of so tempting a Present from the Hand of an Enemy. His co^opancy prov'd successful; the Factions moulder'd away to nothing; the *H-landers* resum'd fresh Courage, seeing themselves Headed by the Illustrious Offspring of so many Hero's. Presently the Vigilance and Prudence of his Highness set all things in Order: he waken'd *Spain* and the *Empire* out of their Lethargic Drowsiness; So that the *French* found themselves constrain'd to abandon their Conquests in less time then they had spent in making them, notwithstanding the rapid Inundations of their Success.

Since that, *France* has not been slow in taking a most cruel Revenge for that refusal and Heroic Resistance. She has dismantl'd and sackt the City of *Orange*, She has Confiscated all the Lands and Castles which the Prince possesses in *Franche Conte*, and in those places which she has taken from the *Spaniards* in *Flanders* and *Brabant*. She has caus'd the Prince to be summon'd before the Parliament of *Paris* as her *Vassal*, and Condemn'd him for default of appearance, and given away his Hereditary Estate to others. The Kings of *Great Britain*, *Charles* the II. and *James* the II. the one his Uncle, the other his Uncle and Father-in-Law, saw all these Injuries done him, without being in the least concern'd. On the other side the Prince suffer'd all this with a most Christian Patience, without making any other Opposition against so many Violences, and so much unworthy hard usage, then that of *God* and his Right. Well knowing that Acts of Injustice done to great Souls, generally fall most heavy upon the Wrong-doers.

For

*For Fraud and Violence each one Surrounds
But mostly, back, from whence it came rebounds.*

This Axiom has fallen out very truly. *James* the II. has been oblig'd to quit his Kingdom. We know not as yet what may befall *Lewis* the XIV. *Felix ante Obitum Nemo.*

However it may come to pass, we cannot sufficiently admire the Mildness and Moderation of the Prince of *Orange*. King *James* fled without being pursu'd, he escapes in disguise, is stopp'd without being known. So soon as he is discover'd he has great Honour and Respect paid him. Commissioners from the Lords Spiritual and Temporal are sent to wait upon him, who desire him to continue in his Kingdom. He refuses, and desires leave to be gone: He is attended to the Sea side, he crosses the Sea, and retires into *France*, without Opposition from any Person whatever. Generally before such Revolutions can be brought about, Slaughter, Executions and Banishment depopulate the Land, here was no such thing to be heard of. 'Tis true the *French News Books* tell us of several *English* Fugitive Lords. But what is it drives them out of the Land; either their own panick Fears, or the remorse of their own Consciences. The Roman Catholics live as much at ease and undisturb'd under the Regency of *William Henry*, as under the Reign of *James* the II. And I dare say, 'twill be their own fault, if they do not enjoy a greater Tranquility then yet they do. The *English* are as good natur'd and compassionate, as they are constant and courageous; so that there needs no more then to be an Object of Pity to disarm their Fury.

Tho' we had no more then this general knowledge of the Life of the Prince of *Orange*, we ought not to wonder that Heaven has so signally prosper'd his Arms, or that the *English* have Proclaim'd both him and his Illustrious Consort King and Queen. But there would be sufficient Cause to be surpriz'd, that *England* or *Holland* either, should enlose with

in their own Bosoms, Persons so distrustful, or such aligning and ill minded Malecontents, that should refuse to rejoyce sincerely at this Happiness. It will hardly be believ'd there are any such, at least among the Protestants of the two Nations; and what is here said is only to confirm and fortify those whom the *Fallacious* Arguments of our Enemies, may cause to waver, and sit loose for a time. But when it shall be consider'd that their most Serene and Sacred Majesties, have undergon so many severe and tedious Tryals, that they have all their life time observ'd an equal Conduct, and that they are arriv'd to Years of mature deliberation, without derogating from themselves, 'tis a sign that their Souls and Minds are sufficiently endu'd with constancy, and that it is impossible they should be deprav'd by Prosperity.

It signifies nothing to say, that a Powerful King is always formidable to a free People; for he is only so, to the Enemies of his Dominions. He must be a very Feeble Prince as well in Mind as in Body, whom the *Grandees* govern as they please themselves, and according to their different Interests, while they buz him in the Ears, sometimes with the noise of one Faction, sometimes of another, and make use of his Sacred Name as the Shuttlecock of their own Passions, and of the Royal Authority to the Ruin of the Subject. He must needs be a very Superstitious Prince that suffers his Head to be fill'd with the Dotages of an Idle Monk, and believes he offers a pleasing Oblation to God, in Sacrificing to the *Avarice* of an insatiable Society, or by abandoning to the fury of the Souldiery the most sound and solid Party of his Kingdom. He is but a faint and impotent Prince who is scar'd and frighted at the sight of the slightest danger, and has neither Credit nor Authority to suppress the threatening disorder. He is a Vicious, Fantastical, and for the least Offence implacable Prince, who in the Transports of his Anger, or the furious Heat of his Wine, permits his hands to be clear'd of his most Faithful and Prudent Servants. He

is a Prince addicted strangely to his Pleasures who suffers himself to be guided by his Confidants and his Mistresses, and oppresses his People with exactions to gratify their Vanity. These are the Princes of whom the People are to be afraid: But I would fain know what cause they have to fear a Wise, a Prudent, a Laborious, Indefatigable Prince, Religious without Superstition, who has almost an equal esteem for all the Societies of Protestantism, nor any bigotted hatred against the *Roman Catholics*. A daring, courageous Prince, who understands how to shun Danger, and yet ready to expose himself when necessity requires: a Prince, so regular in his Manners, and in all the Conduct of his Life, that the Word *Intreague* is hardly known at his Court. Such a one, according to the public Voice of General Fame, is *William Henry Prince of Orange*, now King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*.

But this Prince is too Powerful, they cry, as if a Prince could be too potent, when he only makes use of his Authority to do good. Since the ruin of the *Roman Empire* in the West, never was Monarch more Powerful then *Charlemain*, yet never did *Europe* Flourish more, never was it more happy then under his Reign, he it was that converted and polish'd the Government of *Pagan and Barbarian Germany*; who tam'd the Pride of the *Lombards*, and set bounds to the Ambition of the *Saracens*, and by his Victories gave an Opportunity to the Christians, who were retir'd to the Mountains of *Biscay and Asturia*, to enlarge their Dominions in the Plains, and by degrees to chase the Infidels out of *Spain*. He it was that restor'd Learning and the knowledge of the Liberal Sciences, and made the greatest part of those Laws, which to this day uphold Justice and good Order in the *Western Parts*. Nevertheless this Prince whose *Empire* extended from the *Brittish Ocean*, and the Frontiers of *Navarre* to the *Danaw* and the *Tuscan Sea*, never undertook any considerable Enterprize without the Advice of his Parliaments,

ments, and Counsel of his *Barons*, and the consent of the Assembly of his Estates. Being fully perswaded that the greatest Power of a King, and the strongest Bulwark which he can oppose against his Enemies is the Affection of his Subjects; and that then they are to be govern'd with least trouble, when he suffers Equity and Justice to Reign. Had the Successors to *Charlemain*, but had wit and courage equal to Him, his *Empire* had not been dismember'd into so many peicemeals; of which not any one having force sufficient to repel the Irruptions of the Northern People, *Europe* was soon after cover'd with Blood, and over-run with Ignorance and Barbarism.

Therefore it is Apparent by what has been said, that a Prince is not to be fear'd by his Subjects for that reason only, because he is Powerful; and that there is very little Probability that ever King *William* the II. should ever make a wrong use of his Authority, how great so ever it be, that the *Parliaments* of *Great Britain*, and their *High and Mightinesses* intrust him withal. However, though there be nothing to be fear'd on his side, yet perhaps the Constitution of the two Estates which now he governs with Supream Council, is of such a Nature, that they can never remain United. Which is that which we are next to examine.

It is objected that People of the same profession rarely agree; that the *English* and *Hollanders* are addicted to Navigation, that the Sea is the common Fountain and Source of their Wealth; that the two Nations have been at Wars for above these twenty or thirty Years, as well in the Old as New World, and all upon the score of Trade: that it is very improbable they should forget their Animosities all of a sudden; and that each should be willing to make concessions on their own part, to Unite more firmly against their mutual Enemies; that the differences about the *Flagg*, about the *Fraight*, the *Herring-Fishery*, and the Affairs of the *East-Indies* are too great and recent, to be soon made up. This

is the Language of our Enemies, who make us sensible of the mischief they have done us, but conceal the Cause from us, on purpose to put us out of hope. But let us endeavour to find it out our selves, and then it will be easie to apply the Remedy.

It is a real and undeniable Truth, that time out of mind the *English* and *Flemings* have liv'd together in perfect Amity, and their *Antipathy* against the *French* has still been the same, and indeed a very slender knowledge of the History of the three Nations will serve to convince any Man of the truth of what is here asserted. During the greatest part of the Wars between *England* and *France*, from the Reigns of *Philip the August* and *Richard Cœur de Lyon*, till the time of *Charles the VII.* and *Henry the VI.* the *Flemings*, though *Vassals* to the *French*, always took part with the *Wanders*. They were the first who acknowledg'd *Edward the III.* King of *France* to the prejudice of *Philip de Valois*. They have several times made War with their *Counts*, because they were too much inclined to the Interests of *France*. And though the *House of Burgundy* was always so very sparing of their Subjects, that they never kept any disciplin'd Forces in constant Pay, nor Garrisons in their strong Holds, believing that Subjects gently used, would be a sufficient Guard of their Country themselves. Nevertheless, at the time when the *English*, through the Divisions between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, had almost lost what they possess in *France*, they attempted to rise in Favour of the *English* against *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, one of the best Princes in the World. And the reason which *Mezerai* alledges for it is very remarkable. It was, says he, not only because the *Flemings* were at that time in a close Friendship with *England*, upon the score of Trade, but out of the particular hatred which they bare the *French*. The Citizens of *Bourdeaux* revolted against *Charles the VII.* for the same Reason, having let the *English* in among them. And the same Historian assures us,

that to keep in Subjection that City, which the interests of Commerce and reciprocal Marriages had link'd with *England*, the King was constrain'd to banish Forty Gentlemen and Citizens whom he most suspected, and to build two *Citadels* besides, the better to keep the Town in awe. Moreover in the Year 1528. *Henry* the VIII. having made an Agreement with *Francis* I. that the King of *England* should attack the *Emperour Charles* the V. in the *Low-Countries*, *Mezerai* observes, that the King perceiving, that his Subjects had an Aversion to any War against the *Flemings*, because it would ruin their Trade, chose rather to lend his Confederate Thirty Thousand Crowns a Month; and for the renewing of Trade, negotiated a Truce between the *Low-Countries*, *France* and *England*.

It would be an easie thing to find more examples of this Union in all Ages; but to spare our selves the trouble of searching so far off, it shall suffice to observe that the *United Provinces* did not arrive to that high degree of Puissance which renders them now a Terror to their Enemies, but by the means of their Trade: nor did they begin to Flourish in Trade, till they had shaken off the Yoke of *Spain*, and that they came to be strictly in League with *England*. And it was chiefly by means of the succour which Queen *Elizabeth* sent them, that they supported their growing Union against the Formidable Forces of the House of *Austria*: and though *James* the I. did not second them so Vigorously, whether it were that he had too much business at home, or that the Valour and Alliances of Prince *Maurice* supply'd that defect; nevertheless, it may be said, that if *England* had been their Enemy, instead of being their Ally, that Valiant Prince would have found it a far more difficult task to have supported himself and defended his Country against Strangers abroad, and Factions at home.

Although *Great Britain* no way depends upon the *United Provinces* as being an *Island* that is able to subsist of its self, without

without borrowing from her Neighbours, yet I think she has no wrong done her, in averring that the succour which she afforded *Holland* turn'd to her own profit. For as the *Hollanders* utterly expell'd the *Portugueses* and *Spaniards* out of the *Indies*, so the impairing the Power of the latter did not a little contribute to aggrandize the *English* in *America*, and to cause their Trade to Flourish in *Europe*. It is also very probable, that if *Philip* the II. had not been so embroyl'd, as he was with the *United Provinces*, he would have ventur'd a *Second Invasion* of *England*. Nor would Queen *Elizabeth* been able to have reform'd and govern'd her Kingdom so peaceably as she did, after the Destruction of the *Invincible Armada*: and indeed never was the Trade of the *Island* in a more flourishing condition then under the Reign of that Queen. *James* the I. confirm'd the Alliance and found the benefit of it as long as he liv'd: And *Charles* the I. was so far from being ignorant of how great consequence it was for the two Nations to continue inseparably United, that he gave one of his Daughters to *William* the II. Father to his present Majesty. After all, the *English* have experienc'd the importance of having good Neighbours: and indeed, according to all outward Appearances, had there been no *Hollanders*, nor any Prince of *Orange* in the World, the Religion, Laws and Liberties would have run a great hazard of being utterly abolish'd; or at least the struggling for them would have cost a vast Effusion of Blood.

The first that broke the happy Union of these two Nations was the *Usurper Crommel*, out of his hatred to the House of the *Stewarts*. The two Brothers, Sons of *Charles* the I. during their Exile, suffer'd their heads to be intoxicated with a necessity of Absolute Power, looking upon it as the only Remedy to prevent the frequent Revolutions in *England*. Now when this Fancy had taken deep root, it was easie to perswade them that the *Protestant* Religion, or New upstart Opinions, as the *Roman Catholics* call them, nourish in the

People this same Spirit of change and inconstancy : For that they who will be troubling their heads to examine whether their Bishops and Pastors do not delude and mislead them, will as soon take the same Liberty to enquire into the Actions of their Kings ; and will not suffer them to invade their Priviledges, nor to violate the Conditions of their Coronation-Oath. That the only means to bring about their ends upon the *English*, and to free the Crown from depending upon *Parliaments*, was to introduce Popery by degrees into the *Island*; for that under pretence of those insensible changes which Religion would suffer, it would be easie to alter the Laws and Form of the Government.

For the Execution of this Design it was thought expedient, or rather necessary. 1. To cut off all the most shrew'd and Politic Head-peices in the Nation, under various Colours and Pretences. 2. To deprive the great Cities one after another of their Charters; and ever and anon to break in upon the Priviledges of the Clergy, Nobility and People. 3. To be always engag'd in some Foreign War; thereby to have a specious occasion to keep up a standing Force, and set up a Shambles to consume and waste away the most stout and daring of the Nobility and Gentry; and to accustom the Subject to new and frequent Taxes, and drain their Purses. 4. To sow Jealousies between the *English* and *Scots*, on purpose to make use of one of the Nations to invade the Liberties of the other. 5. To foment the Divisions of the *Protestants*, to multiply their Sects, and keep them in a kind of Equality, by favouring sometimes one, and sometimes the other, to the end that after several Persecutions, the Parliament might be constrain'd to come to a Universal Toleration, which would soon open a door to let in Popery into the Government. 6. That while the design was carrying on to amuse the *English* with a Foreign War, and at the same time their Destruction was contriving at home, the main thing to be consider'd was, whether to quarrel

rel with *France* or the *United Provinces*. *France* was altogether *Roman Catholic*, and the place where *Arbitrary Power* Reign'd in Triumph. If you lead the *English* thither, 'tis true you gratify'd their natural Inclination, but augmented their detestation of *Popery* and *Slavery*. And then it was to enfeeble a Power, by means of which they were to Establish blind Obedience in the Island. Therefore it was concluded that all the Force of the three Kingdoms should be turn'd upon *Holland*; for indeed there lay all the provocations of their Malice. Reformation was the prevailing Religion of those Fortunate Provinces; Liberty was the Pillar that supported them. They had been a long time the Sanctuary of Unfortunate Fugitives and Exiles. Moreover it was foreseen that while they enclos'd within their own Bosom the two next Heirs of the Crown, the *English* being abus'd and oppress'd would not fail to repair to them. Therefore there was no more to be done but absolutely to determin; that *Carthage* was to be utterly destroy'd. We must acknowledge that never was any Project better laid; but unfortunately for the Contrivers; the Impatience of the *Jesuits*, the Courage, Union and Piety of the Prince and Princess of *Orange* spoil'd all. Their Royal Highnesses refuse their Consent to repeal the Tests; King *James* is Angry, pushes on things to extremity, and counterfeits a Prince of *Wales*. The *English* redouble their Murmurs; the Prince Arms without making any Noise, Lands in *England*, where all give way, the Generality joyn with him, while the King abandons all at once both his Kingdom and his Vain Enterprises. But that I may no longer tarry upon a Subject that has been now the occasion of so much Writing, and which is now, God be thanked, quite out of Season, I shall apply my self at present to observe by what Artifices the Court of *England* Labour'd to render the War against the *Hollanders* acceptable to the People. This is that which most peculiarly was my Aim, and upon which I am apt to believe

believe the Public has not seen any Reflections especially in our Language.

The Designs of Princes are manag'd at a distance, and perhaps it may not be thought an ill Conjecture, should I presume to say that the secret Motive which induc'd the setting up of the *East India* and *African* Companies was to lessen the Power of the *Hollanders*, and to serve for a Pretence to find an occasion of a Quarrel, when it should be thought convenient. At least, there are several Persons who openly maintain that those Societies are meer *Monopolies*, more fit to ruine the Trade of a great Kingdom, than to advance it. However it be, 'tis probable that the Court flatter'd the *English* with the hopes of rendering them absolute Masters of the Sea and Navigation, and giving them the possession of those Wealthy Countries which the *United Provinces* are Masters of in the *East Indies*. Nevertheless, they that lookt upon things with a clear sight, perceiv'd that it was only a Bait; but yet as evident as it was, the common People swallow'd it down. *Charles* the II.

1664. and the D. of *York* were then * Members of the Church of *England*, and no body so much as dreamt at that time, that they were then forming a resolution to betray the Party. The *Protestants* are so easie of belief, that if *James* the II. had not bethought himself, after the Death of his Brother, to Publish a Writing under his Brother's Hand, which he assur'd the World contain'd the Real Profession of his Faith, no body would ever have imagin'd that a Person of his sublime Wit, and so great a Monarch could have persever'd in his Hypocrisie till Death: and it is thought even to this day, that he was either of the Reformed Religion, or that he had none at all.

The Advantages which the Tyrant *Cromwell*, one of the greatest Captains of the Age, had obtain'd over the *Hollanders* from the Year 1651. to 1654. made the common People of *England* look upon the Conquest of *Holland* as an easie under

undertaking. They imagin'd, seeing that just after the Conclusion of a Civil War, under a Usurper not well settl'd, and at a time when the Land was all embroyl'd with Faction; they had constrain'd their Enemies to a dishonourable Peace, that they should reduce them much lower, should they Attack them, being well United, with all their Forces, under their lawful Prince. France promis'd to Assist them privately, to amuse the *Hollanders* with hopes of feigned Succour, and to powre in upon them, so soon as she should find it proper. All the World knows the Success of that War, which lasted above three Years; during which time the two Nation Experienc'd what judicious Historians have already observ'd; that they could not vanquish one another, being very near of equal strength at Sea; and therefore that their Engagements would only contribute to their Mutual Ruine.

In the Year 1672. *Lewis XIV.* undertook the Conquest of *Holland* with more Success then *Charles II.* had done eight Years before. At what time the Court of *England* believing the *Hollanders* lost beyond recovery, at the beginning of the first Campagne openly joyn'd with *France*. And indeed there had been an end of the *United Provinces*, had the *English* continu'd the War with that Vigor as they did in 1665. But that quicksighted Nation perceiving that the Religion and Liberties of their Neighbours were more aim'd at, then their Trade and Riches, represented to their King, that there was nothing to be gain'd by that War but blow, and that the *French* only sought to amuse them till he made himself Master of the *Low Countries* and *Germany*. These Reasons were laid before the King with so much strength of Argument; and the Parliaments refus'd with so much constancy those Aids which the King stood in need of to continue the War, that King *Charles* found himself constrain'd to accept of those Proposals which were made him by the States, and the Treaty was concluded at *Westminster* the 19.

of *Feb.* 1674. And whatever endeavours the Kings of *England* have since us'd they could never engage their Subjects in an open and formal War with the *United Provinces*.

It is easie to deduce several Consequences from this piece of story, which utterly dissipate those vain Jealousies that the Enemies of the two Nations would fain create between them, under pretence of Trade. 1. The First is that the *English* and *Hollanders* have no natural Antipathy one against the other ; and that their Three last Wars were only the Effect of an *Usurpers* Revenge, who labour'd the Destruction of the Royal Family ; and of two Kings their Conceal'd Enemies, who had sworn the utter Extirpation of the Protestant Religion, their Priviledges and Liberties. The Second is that Commerce is so far from being a lawful Cause of the difference between the two Nations, that on the contrary it ought to incline them to a stricter Union, if they understand their own Interests, since their Trade then always flourish'd most when there was the strictest Amity between them. 3. The Third is that, they ought to take a more then ordinary care how they Engage in a War one against the other, well knowing that in all their Sea Engagements, the Advantages on both sides have been very little different, or rather that they have come off with equal losses, and that Strangers taking the real Advantages of their Quarrels are become their Rivals in Navigation. *Hambrough* with the rest of the *Hanse Towns*, the *Danes* and *Suedes*, for the most part now take in those Freights, by which the *Hollanders* before gain'd so much profit, and engross'd to themselves a great part of the Trade of the *Baltic Sea*. The *French* who since the time of *Hen. IV.* had not so much as one Ship that belong'd to the King, have acquir'd several Territories in *America* and are now Labouring to get Footing in the *Indies* by that Alliance which they have contracted with the King of *Siam* ; set forth great Fleets, and pester the Sea with Pyrates. All which came to pass, while
the

the *English* and *Dutch* were busily employ'd in ruining one another. So that if three of their Wars have so sensibly abated their Trade to such a degree; the Fourth, which after the present Union of the Two Nations, would be the Effect of an Irreconcilable Hatred, would prove their utter ruin, by Translating to their Neighbours all the Advantages which the two Nations receive by their Shipping.

As for what concerns their Quarrels about loaring the Flag, Freights, and the Herring-Fishery, they are not worth the trouble of any farther discourse; and to bury them in *Oblivion*, there needs no more then to keep close to the Peace of *Breda* in the Year 1667. The differences between the two *East India-Companies* seem more considerable, nevertheless if Men would but rightly understand one another, it might be easie to remove this Stumbling-block, either by Incorporating altogether, or by some other way which provident deliberation might soon find out.

The Third Objection falls of it self, after what has been said to refute the Second. The Interest of the *English* and *Hollanders* inclining them to the continuance of their Union, and to contribute their utmost to their mutual Prosperity, there would never be any Jealousie between the two Nations, unless they lent their Ears to the seducing Fallacies of their Enemies; and by consequence their King and their Governour would have no occasion to Invade their Privileges. Besides that we are confidently assur'd that he will never endeavour it, but on the other side will use all his endeavours to prevent any difference between the two Nations, which are equally dear to him. But supposing that we were not so certain as we are of the mildness and gentleness of his present Majesty; at least we dare not question but that he is a Person of Honour and a Valiant Prince, and that he has a High Esteem for true Glory. If he has won Battles, if he has taken strong Towns, if he has made con-

siderable Conquests, he is only beholding for all this to the Blessing of God, to his Valour, and the exact Discipline which he observes in his Armies, and the Love which his Souldiers have for him. He was never known to purchase strong Holds, to corrupt Governours, nor to aggrandize himself by fowl and treacherous means; If several *French* Officers have Lifted themselves in his Service, it was the Catholic Zeal which expell'd them their Country, and the Reputation of so great a Captain, which made them eager to serve under his Command. How can it be imagin'd, that a Prince, who next to God is beholding for his high advancement, only to the largeness of his Soul, and the greatness of his Courage, to the Wisdom of his Counsellors, and the Love of his People: A Prince, that has suffer'd so long, and with a Patience unimitable, the wrongs that have been done him; who never took up Arms in Revenge of his own Interests, but to deliver an Oppress'd Nation that implor'd his Aid: How, I say, can it be conceiv'd, that it should ever come into such a Princes thoughts by indirect ways to destroy that Liberty, which he adventur'd to restore with the hazard of his Blood and Life: or that he would go about, for an Airy Authority, to loose that immortal Glory which he has acquired; Or that while he Reigns as he does, in the Hearts of his Subjects and Allies, he should rather choose to draw upon himself the Hatred of the One and the Indignation of the Other, rather then peaceably to enjoy the Fruit of his Labours.

If on the one side Honour engages his Majesty of *Great Britain* to preserve the Priviledges of his Subjects, as his own Handy-work, and to maintain the Liberty of the *Hollanders*, his Fellow-Citizens, it inclines him on the other side to exterminate Tyranny. We know it Triumphs in *France* with an unlimited Power, and that it is there, as it were in the Center. Nor are we ignorant of the heinous Injuries which *Lewis XIV.* has offer'd to *William* the

the III. when he was only Prince of Orange, Governour and Generalissimo of the *United Provinces*. The *English* are forward enough of themselves to engage in a War with the *French*; and several Historians have observ'd that they never give Money with a more willing Heart, then when they are ask'd to contribute toward the Expences of that Expedition. Besides they well understand, that *Cromwells* Civil War. The Evil Designs of their two last Kings, their Intestine Discords, their Engagements against the *Hollanders*, in a word all that themselves and their Brethren have suffer'd for this last near half an Age together, has been only the Effect of the Intreagues of the Court of *France*, of the two Cardinals and the Jesuits. Nor have the *United Provinces* less Cause to complain. Not to mention the unjust Invasion in 1672. for which all the Subtlety of *Lewis* the Fourteenth's Counsel, could never alledge any other well grounded Reason, then the favourable Opportunity to Conquer those Rich Provinces, through the Cowardise, sloath and want of Intelligence in those that manag'd Affairs at that time; were there nothing else but the Violences and Cruelties which the *French* King and his Ministers have Committed within these Nine or Ten Years upon the Subjects of the *States General*, their Ships Embargo'd, their Goods Confiscated, their Seamen Imprison'd, constrain'd to change their Religion, to serve against their own Country, or to undergo the Punishment of the Gallies; the prodigious Number of Merchants Ships which their Privateers have taken; their Villages and Towns laid in Ashes, and all this in time of Peace, and without the least appearance of Justice; I dare be bold to say, that their *High and Mightiness* must have Hearts of Steel to be insensible of these Recent Outrages; and that all the Offers and Reparations that *France* can make, are not sufficient to equal them.

But

But some will say, it is the Interest of the *United Provinces* to continue in Peace, and the States never had a fairer opportunity to obtain from *France* whatever they shall judge requisite for the security of their Subjects and their Trade. I acknowledge it: But who shall be *Guarantee* for the Observation of the Treaty which is to be made with *France*? Certainly neither *England*, nor the *Empire*. Is it prudence to confide in those Persons who have a thousand times deceiv'd us, who never keep their word any longer, then sincerity agrees with their Ambitious Desires, and their Interests: who make a sport of their Promises, Oaths, Contracts, and most solemn Edicts, who are equally Treacherous to Friends and Enemies, Subjects and Allies? True it is that Peace is very desirable; but not a Peace of six Months or a Year, but a firm, stable and perpetual Peace; or at least such a Peace as shall last as long as we live. 'Tis also as true that it is the Interest of Common-wealths rather to preserve themselves in the Condition they are in, then to make new Conquests. But when we have Neighbours Potent, Ambitious, and such as seek to aggrandize themselves by all manner of means, right or wrong, they have no other way to secure themselves from their unlookt for Invasions, then to take advantage of the first opportunity that presents it self to pull down their Power, and to reduce them to such a Condition that they be no longer able to do any more Mischiefs.

This Happy Opportunity is now come: *England* and *Holland* have now *William* the III. for their Sovereign and Governour. The whole Body of *Germany* moves toward Revenge. The *French* themselves pant after their deliverance; the Persecuted *Protestants* and *Jansenists* are not the only Male Contents of that Kingdom. The Clergy, the Nobility and People, all Orders of the Kingdom groan under the Tyranny of the *Jesuits*, and only wait for a Chieftain to deliver them from Slavery. This is a truth not to be question'd.

on'd, and to convince the Public, there needs no more for any Man to do, then to cast his Eyes upon the general Causes of the Discontents of the *French*.

No Country is more Fruitful, no Climate more temperate and serene then theirs, no Inhabitants more Civil or more Humane, then those of this Kingdom. You would say, it was a Country made on purpose to be the Habitation of Good and Vertuous People, and a Paradise upon Earth. *But as it is a Country Rich and Fertile, and as the People are extremely humble and submissive, they are overwhelm'd with all sorts of exactions, insomuch that their Plenty becomes their Misery, and their Obedience makes their Oppressions more grievous.*

To reduce a free and Warlike People into so rigorous a Servitude requir'd a long time, and a world of Contrivances. It was requisite to ravish from the Clergy their Rights, to deprive the Nobility of their Priviledges, and to invade the Liberties of the People. 'Tis well known that the *Gallicane* Church has bred up and foster'd in her Bosom the greatest Luminaries in *Europe*; that she has had in all Ages Holy Bishops, who have oppos'd the Usurpations of the Popes, who have publicly rebuk'd the Vices of the Grandees, and have openly withstood the Tyranny of Princes. The Inferior Clergy were solely under the Jurisdiction of their Prelates, their provincial and national Synods. At this day they are expos'd to the Mercy of the Court and the Fury of the *Jesuits*, not only in civil Causes, but also in what concerns their Ecclesiastical Discipline and Religion. A world of Formalities, a world of Assemblies, but no appeal against a Letter under the Privy Signet.

We also know what has formerly been the Power of the Nobility: without their Consent, neither Peace could be concluded, nor War undertaken, nor any Leagues offensive or defensive could be made. Offices of public Trust, which are now put to Sale, the Prey of Usurpers in Confederacy, or
Hunger-

Hunger starv'd Commissaries: Military Employments which are bestowed for the most part upon Souldiers of Fortune, or the Lacqueys of Favourites. Benefices, which are now at the absolute disposal of the Kings Confessor, the Council of Conscience or the Jesuits; All Pensions, all Civil or Ecclesiastical Dignities, all considerable Employments were as it were Portions for the Younger Sons of Noble Families, and afforded them Means to support the lustre of their House. Whereas now we see the Nobility without Estates, and ill Educated, through Poverty or want of Education stooping to the meanest of Drudgeries. Formerly, when a Lord was disgusted with the Court, he retir'd to his Castle, where he liv'd like a petty Sovereign, no Man daring to come to trouble his Repose. But those happy days are past; Now they must eat their Bread in the train of the Favourites, make their applications to such as have only their Vices or their Intreagues to favour them; and instead of that noble Firecensess so well becoming those whom Birth, Knowledge and Vertue have rais'd above the Common Sort, they must now put on the Countenances of Slaves and Suppliants upon the approach of a Beggar in Rich Apparel, a Commissary of the Treasury, or a Jesuit of the Court.

As for the People, their misery is so great, as would require a shewr of Bloody Tears to deplore it, and a Graving Tool of Iron to describe it, so that I have often question'd whether Posterity would give credit to what a thousand Testimonies have both seen and try'd themselves; and which they can never express but in a Language far short of the Truth. Who would believe that a People Laborious, Active, Sober, Industrious, that inhabits a Country *Fertile* in Corn, abounding in Wine, in Cattel, in Pasturage, in Oyl, in Salt, in all sorts of Fruits; a Country water'd with large Rivers; to the *North* and *West* wash'd by the *Ocean*, and to the *South* by the *Mediterranean Sea*, as if Nature, not content with the peculiar Wealth she has bestow'd upon it, design'd to furnish it

it with all that Foreign *Climates* have in particular. I say who would believe that a People thus endow'd in the midst of a soil abounding with Milk and Honey, should be forc'd to dwell in Straw Huts, and to be reduc'd to Beggary. Who would believe that there should be nothing to be seen but Palaces demolish'd and ruin'd Houses in a Kingdom where no Enemy has been ravaging for these two or three Ages together. That a Country Husband man, after he has till'd his own Lands, and reap'd the Harvest should have nothing but a little Rye, Barley or Chest-nuts to eat, or the squeezings of the Lees of the Grape mixed with Water, or Water it self to drink. For the Collector of the Kings duties, has despoil'd him of his Wheat, his Wine and his Oyl, leaving him hardly wherewithal to sow his Land next Year, and pay his Tenths. Besides that the Land is over and above charg'd with duties for goods brought in and going forth, Customs and other excessive Taxes, and to compleat the total consuming of what the Collectors could not carry away, the Souldiers run from *Province* to *Province* trampling the poor People under foot.

Strangers wonder at the vast Number of Souldiers, that *France* keeps up in pay. But this does not come to pass because the Kingdom is better Peopl'd then other Countries. You shall travel several Leagues together, through most fertile *Champaign* Countries, and hardly meet with one poor miserable Cottage; whereas the very *Meishes*, and Sands of *Holland* seem to be but one Great and Magnificent City. But the reason is, for that being Born where only the King, the Favourites of the Wealthy, and the Souldiers can live, the rest must either carry a Musquet or starve.

In all other Countries the Great Cities enjoy considerable Priviledges, hold General Assemblies composed of the Nobility, the Clergy and the third Estate, where they consult of what concerns the public good, to prevent the indifferen-

on of bad Counsellors from putting the Kingdom in combustion, and the hungry Courtiers from enriching themselves with the sweat of the People. 'Tis not so in *France*; *Bordeaux*, *Marseilles*, *Toulouse*, *La Rochelle*, *Nismes*, *Montauban*, &c. have all lost their *Franchises*, and are curb'd and kept in awe by Citadels and strong Garrisons. The King keeps his Court but seldom in *Paris*, to lessen the Power of that Proud City. All the rest of the Cities are so poor, that *Grenoble*, one of the most Flourishing and Capital of the *Dauphinate*, the Seat of the *Parliament* of that *Province*, is not able to raise Money to restrain within it's Channel a small River, that overflows the Country and many times threatens the City with a destructive deluge. The *Parliaments*, more especially that of *Paris*, had reserv'd to themselves a right to examine the Edicts and Decrees of their Prince. And if they found any thing fit to be excepted against, they humbly represented their exceptions to his Majesty, as they did to *Hen. IV.* when he was designing to recal the *Jesuits*; and their remonstrances were frequently of that force as to cancel an Edict, otherwise they allow'd and confirm'd it. But they have Punish'd with so much rigor and cruelty several Counsellors, who in the late troubles, during the Minority of the King, gave proof of their constancy and zeal for the public good, that at this day no Body dares so much as open their mouths. Nor do they now make use of the Word *d'Enteriner*, which properly signifies to give the force of a Law to a Declaration of the Prince; so that the *Parliaments*, for fear of jostling the *Absolute Power* of their *Invincible Monarch*, barely write down, that they have read such or such an Edict of the King, and that they have *Verify'd* it; that is, they have acknowledg'd it to be his Majesties Act and Deed. After which, his most humble Slaves have not a Word more to say.

I will

I will not here speak of that same tedious and barbarous Persecution of the *Reformed*, in *France*, though that Party was very considerable in the Kingdom; as well for that other Authors have made very large Descriptions of it, as for that it is not convenient to meddle with Particular differences in a discourse that relates only to the public Interest. I shall only observe that Religion, which is the General Pretence laid hold of to cause the *Roman Catholics* to approve these violent Proceedings, is not the real cause thereof; and that it is not out of any zeal for the Glory of God, that those poor People are depriv'd of their Relations and Friends, and of their fellow Citizens, and that they destroy and ruin their Trade. It may be that the King is overperswaded that his conscience obliges him to exterminate Heresy. But he is a good natur'd Prince, naturally not inclin'd to cruelty: yet when he is made believe that he offers an oblation to God, in Sacrificing to his vengeance those that worship him after a manner different from ours, it is enough to overcome a good disposition, and push on zeal even to fury. But as for his Counsellors they are too sufficiently known to the World, to make any doubt whether Conscience or Religion are the Motives that spur them on to Act. 'Tis certain they are not; and therefore we must seek out for others; and I think I have call'd to mind some of them. The first is, the hatred of the *Jesuits*, against all those that are not of their Opinion. For Opinion is the Queen of the World. And therefore they who would command others, use all their endeavours to make those whom they labour to bring under Subjection to admit of their Maxims, chiefly those that relate to Philosophy, Divinity and Morality. The *Grandeess* can easily rid themselves of a few Private Persons by the way of Calumny, or by bringing them into trouble; but to destroy a numerous Body, that continually raises up fresh Enemies, there is no way but to proceed by open force. The *Jesuits*, being the most Rigid

of all the Doctors of the *Roman Church*, always found the *Reformed* to be Opposers of their designs. Nor were the *Jansenists*, who accus'd these Fathers for being the Corrupters of Christian Morality, less odious to them. But the Society being more Powerful then both these, brought about their ends by a Persecution of above Forty Years. In the first Place they put in practice Processes and brangling Suits, Knavery and Imposture, of which they made use against those that escap'd their fury, by flying for Sanctuary into Foreign Countries.

The second Motive to Persecution is the Avarice of the Society, which appear'd, by the Benefices and Estates of the *Jansenists* and *Protestant* confiscated, which the *Jesuits* procur'd to be given to themselves.

The Politicians also give us some Reasons for these Cruelties; they say, that the King is a great Lover of Glory, and makes it a point of Honour to destroy a Religion, which his Predecessors would have eradicated, but could not. They add, that the Victories he has gain'd, and the Progress he has made, through the Divisions of the *Neighbouring Princes*, and by other Stratagems have put him up to believe that he is able to execute whatever he undertakes: and that it is as easie for him to force his Subjects to change their belief, as to win the strong holds of his Enemies. Others there are who will have it, that the Court has Sacrific'd the *Reformed* to the Ghosts of the *Jansenists*, and that to procure the condescension of the Pope that the Disciples of *St. Austin* might be persecuted, and the Canonical Elections abolish'd in these Churches where they were preserv'd, they bethought themselves of oppressing the *Protestants*, which has been always a great Mark of *Catholicism*. Others hold, that it was the design of the Ministers of State, and Superintendants to enrich themselves with the spoils of those that fled, to defray the expences of the War, and pay off the half famish'd Souldiers: perswading the King that a small number of poor People

People by leaving his Kingdom, did but discharge it of an unprofitable Burthen. — *Lastly*, there are some, that maintain that though there were no such probable reasons to be given, there would be cause enough to believe, that in a Court, like that of *France*, Religion is usually the Motive least consider'd.

However it be, most evident it is, that both *Priests* and *Ministers* are Banish'd alike ; that Religious Houses are dissolv'd, as well as the Reformed Churches, that Monasteries are sack'd and destroy'd as well as Temples, and that they make War with the same violence upon those that adhere to the *Pope*, as upon those that side with *Calvin*. This I say, is an evident sign that it is not the Doctrine of the *Romish Church*, but *Jesuitism*, which is the immediate Incentive to all these Cruelties. That is to say, that the Politics of *Matchiavel* ; the thirst of Rule, and to establish their opinions at any rate whatever, to ruin those by all manner of ways that oppose them, and to dispose absolutely of the Bodys, Estates, and Consciences of the People carry them to these Courses.

Whence it follows, that all the *French Roman Catholics* or others, ought to look upon these Persecutions. 1. As Attempts against the Public Faith, as being contrary to the Edicts of *Nantes* and *Nismes*, confirm'd to outward Appearance by all the Declarations publish'd against the Reformed ; and to a Decree of Council by which the King forbids the disturbance of such as should have subscrib'd the Formulary, and promises the same Usage to the *Jansenists* as to the *Molinists*.

These Persecutions ranverse the Foundations of public Security, and introduce the Inquisition. 'Tis well known that the Questions about Predestination and Grace are very nice and thorny ; and how easie a thing it is, whatever the receiv'd opinion may be, to give a Heretical Sence to innocent Propositions : so that if there be any that bear malice to a Learned Man, or that he shall be so unfortunate as to displeas

displease the Society, then is he lost for ever ; since there is nothing more easie then to forge an imaginary Heresie out of a Metaphysical Controversie.

3. The Persecutions of the *Jansenists* lay a snare for Divines, which they are not well able to be aware of. For should the Disputes happen to be about Predestination or Grace, the Mysteries of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the free Satisfaction of *Christ* : If what we ought to believe were clearly taught in Scripture, or had been decided in a General Council according to the Principles receiv'd among the Christians, the Opposers would be treated as Heretics. But neither *Pelagius*, nor *St. Austin* were ever condemn'd by the Universal Church, and though the Body of the *Roman* Church agree with the *Semipelagians* ; nevertheless, if the Disciples of *Molinus*, would but speak candidly, they must acknowledge that the contrary Doctrin has always been tolerated. The Heresie of *Predestination* is a *Chimera*, *Godescale* was Persecuted by the Faction of the two *Arch-Bishops*, *Rabanus Maurus* of *Mayence*, and *Hincmar* of *Rheims*. The greatest part of the Prelates and Learned Men of *Germany* undertook the Defence of his Doctrin ; Nevertheless *Semipelagianism* was never listed in the Number of Errors against the Faith, but got great footing afterwards in the *West*. On the other side, the Writings of *St. Austin*, and his Disciples, *St. Prosper*, *St. Fulgentius*, *St. Gregory*, *Tho. Aquinas*, and an Infinite Number of others have been approv'd, receiv'd and respected by all the Church : And there needs no more then to read and understand them, to see then *Jansenius* has taught nothing but what other Ancient Doctors taught before him. How is it then possible, that a Divine, who shall read the Books of the Holy Fathers, who shall reverence them as Saints, who shall look upon them as Testimonies to confirm the Doctrin of the Ages they liv'd in ; how is it possible, I say, but that he must either jump with them in opinion, or condemn those that follow them ;

them ; consequently how can he avoid being either a Heretic or a Favourer of Heretics ?

4. These Persecutions are contrary to the Law of Nature and Nations. The Law of Nature permits every one to defend his own Estate and his Life by all the lawful ways that may be, and ordains as to others, that we should deal by them, as we would they should deal by us. So that this Law is quite overturn'd in such Places, where the Estate, Life and Honour of several Persons depend upon the Fancy of a single Person, and where the Innocent are oppress'd by a violent Faction, and by a Power usurp'd and purely Arbitrary, without any regard to the Law. By vertue of which Law of Nations, the Contracts of Superiour to Inferiour, or of equal to equal, remain immoveable. The consequence of which is, that every Man may live without disturbance in his own House, and enjoy his Estate in Tranquility, provided he behave himself peaceably toward the Government, and Act nothing contrary to the Laws, either Civil or Ecclesiastical. Now the Protestant Religion having been establish'd in *France* by Solemn Edicts, and seeing that the Doctrin of St. *Austin* was never yet Condemn'd by any Council, it is most apparent, that the Persecution of the Subjects for one or the other of these two Beliefs, is a violation of the Law of Nature and Nations, before an Assembly of Estates have revok'd those Edicts, or a National Synod have rejected the Doctrin.

If then all the Facts that have been hither to alledg'd are certain ; if it be true that the Clergy have been despoil'd of their Libertys, the Nobility of their Employments and Privileges, the People of their Subsistance. If it be true, that *Priests* and *Ministers*, *Catholics* and *Reformed* have been and still are Persecuted under the specious Colour of Religion, against Public Faith and Assurances, against Establish'd Laws and Irrevocable Edicts ; and against the Law of Nature and of Nations ; If it be true, that it is impossible for any *French* Divine

Divine or Learned Man to write according to his Conscience, even in reference to those things which the *Gallican Church*, has left undecided. If it be true, that the *Jesuits* have a design in hand to extirpate their Enemies by all manner of ways which they shall deem proper, and that they are so much Masters of the Kings Favour, that they can but only ask and have, but that all good Men, that all *France*, and all *Europe* betake themselves to their Arms to exterminate this Impious Society, which permits Murder, Robbery, Whoredom and all Sorts of Vices: that they set up the Standard, not against the King and Kingdom, but to deliver his most Christian Majesty from his wicked Counsellors, that fill the Churches and Monasteries with false Pastors and Intruders, that exclude the Nobility from their Employments, and bestow them upon their own Creatures, that sat themselves with the Blood of the People and enrich themselves with the Confiscate Estates of the Innocent.

Nor would it be a Bloody War, but an easie Victory for the *English* and *Hollanders* under the lucky *Auspices* of their Prince; or rather an Extirpation of Tyranny and the Delivery of an unhappy People, worthy of a better Fate, resolv'd on by both Nations, to the end that the Deliverer of *England*, may be no less celebrated for setting *France* at Liberty. More especially while the *French*, thus lying under the smart of their Provocations, are thus favourably dispos'd to Assist the Enterprises of their Avenger.

But should this come to pass, cry some; in regard the War could not be long, and that the success would be almost unquestionable; This, they cry, would be still to make *William the Third* more puissant and more formidable. And then they come in with their Proverbs, and say, 'tis hard for Mortal Man to preserve his Vertue from Temptation in overflowing Prosperity. And let the Kings Intentions, of themselves be never so sincere and upright, who shall assure us of the vertue and honesty of his Counsellors? This looks like a

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Man tormenting himself for recreations like a or like his framing *Chimeras* to combat the shadows of his own fancy. An Ordinary Person that has but common Constancy and Prudence, never changes upon the least puff of Wind; but when he has all his Life long observ'd certain Maxims of Honesty, which have gain'd him a respect in the World, and are conformable to the Dictates of his conscience, it is the least of his thoughts to depart from them, for that he understands that Levity is a mark of weakness of mind and want of wit, and that nothing is more displeasing to God then Inconstancy and Breach of Word. Much less can we believe that a Prince, of a clear understanding, constant and courageous, could ever be capable of change; or that he would go about to tarnish his Honour, disturb his own repose, or to render himself unacceptable to God of whose Blessings at present he is so well assur'd. Besides that, Courtiers, when they perceive their Master to be a Person accomplish'd in virtue, are wary how they let him perceive the Irregularities of their inclinations, but rather make it their Study to shew themselves conformable to his disposition. They are cautious of giving him bad Council for fear of incurring his displeasure. They will rather on the contrary Study to become vertuous or at least to seem so. Besides the Counsellors of King *William* are no more to be fear'd, then the King himself. Their modesty will not permit me to give the World a lively Portraiture of their virtues, and therefore it will suffice to observe, that they are all either *English* or *Hollanders*, true Protestants, and Persons of deep foresight, and for the most part Men of Learning. That is to say, they are Men who have frequently expos'd their Lives for their Religion and the Liberty of their Country. Add to this that the Souls of Learned Men are too highly exalted above the mean thoughts of Treason and Conspiracy, and their Hearts too generous to be capable of Baseness and Perfidy; nor will the Spirit of Popery and Tyranny ever accord with Philosophic Liberty.

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There is this also farther to be said that though a Prince and his Counsel should have vow'd their own ruin, by conspiring against the Repose and Priviledges of two Nations, it would be impossible for them to accomplish their design. 'Tis true that if a Nation accustom'd to *Arbitrary Power* and Slavery, happens to subdue a free People, 'tis very probable that the Victors will ravish from them their ancient Franchises if they can do it without loosing the Fruit of their Conquests, for that it must needs be a trouble to the Victors that the condition of the vanquish'd should be better then theirs. Nevertheless it does not alway so happen. For the Counts of *Flanders* and Dukes of *Burgundy* in vain attempted several times to accustom their Subjects of the *Low Countries* to the *French Manners*. And the *Spaniards* were so sensible of their Error in endeavouring to introduce the *Inquisition* into those Provinces, that they were forc'd to permit them to enjoy whatever they had remaining of their ancient Priviledges.

But when two free People are United together, their Union fortifies their Liberty, against all those that would go about to invade it. *England* and *Scotland* have often experienc'd the truth of this, tho' it can hardly be said that they obey'd the same *Line* for a whole Century of Years together.

Not to insist upon time past, 'tis well known that *James* the Second had already adventur'd to declare himself invested with an *Arbitrary Power* in reference to the *Scots*: And if the *English* had not call'd in the Prince of *Orange* to their Assistance, their late King would not have stopt there. By which it is clearly to be seen, that there is so little reason for the *Hollanders* to be Jealous of their new Governour, or for the People of *Great Britain* to repent their having set the Crown upon the Head of a Prince so powerful before, that on the contrary the Puissance of their Supreme Chieftain is their proper and safest security; since it is neither in his Will nor in his Power to make use of it to their Hurts, and for that their Security under him will protect them

them from all the Assaults of *France*, which taking Advantage of their Divisions, advanc'd within a litle of ruining both the one and the other.

The three other Objections are so inconsiderable that they are not worth the trouble of insisting upon them. Nevertheless we shall refute them in a few words, least some conceited Reader should believe we avoid the meddling with them. The Prince is a *Presbyterian* by Birth, therefore he will favour the *Nonconformists* of *Great Britain*, and lessen the Authority of the Church of *England*. 'Tis a strange thing that the *Roman Catholics* who hardly know their own Religion, should pretend to teach us ours.

They have been told a thousand times that the Bishops and Presbyterians of *England* differ only in so slight Ceremonies, which are nothing to the Essential part of Divine Worship, and that there is more of Obstinacy and Misunderstanding between them, than of real Cause of Dispute. We have seen at the *Altar* for this ten or twelve Years, the Princess of *Orange*, now Queen *Mary* of *England*, repair indifferently sometimes to the *Dutch* or *French* Church, and sometimes to her own Chappel. The Prince no sooner arriv'd at *London*, but he receiv'd the Communion in an Episcopal Church, and gave a favourable Reception to the *Presbyterian* Ministers who went to Congratulate him. We see every day several of the Episcopal Party Communicate with the Reformed on this side the Sea, and our *French* and *Holland* Protestants joyn themselves with the Church of *England*. Yet, in spite of all this, the *Romish* Doctors would make us believe we are of two Religions. And upon the same score because their Religion properly consists only in exterior Pomp, in Images, Relics, Beds, Rosaries, Holy-water, Monks of several Colours, and such like Superstitious Exercises and Institutions; and that those other things wherein they differ from the Protestants are only the Inventions of *Italian* Policy, they imagin it to be the same with ours. Whence it comes to pass that all the Specula-

rive Opinions of our Divines are by those Gentlemen lookt upon as so many. All the Confessions of Faith, the Liturgies, the Ceremonies in the Administration of the Sacraments, the Varieties of Discipline, the Orders and Habits of the Preachers, if our Adversaries were so to be believ'd, among us make so many different Sects. For this reason it was that a certain Prelate, who believ'd himself to be very witty, has made a History of the Variations of our Churches, and he had so great a desire to augment the Number that he bethought himself of ascribing to us as many Relics as he found Systems of our Ministers upon the *Apocalypse*, the most obscure Book of all the *New Testament*.

Nevertheless, we must acknowledge that the Headstrong Obstinacy of some of Ours, and the remains of Ignorance and the Spirit of *Antichristianism* that will not yet out of the Bones of some that Envy our Unity, have given occasion to these Calumnies. The *Western Church* has mourn'd for above these ten Centuries, under the Darkness and Yoke of Popery. During which time there was Opportunity and Advantage enough, to deepen the Superstitions, and Impressions of Popery under so wicked a Master. Add to this, that since the Reformation, we have not had a Prince whose Knowledge, Piety and Puissance have been able to reconcile our Differences. The Great *Gustavus* had conceiv'd such a Design in his Mind, but he vanish'd like a flash of Lightning in the midst of his Victories. It seems that God has reserv'd this Honour for *William* the III. and this Happiness till our Time. God has sent this Prince into the World in a Country, where the Spirit of Toleration has pass'd from the Magistrates to the most Learned Ministers. He has call'd him to a Kingdom replenish'd with Learned and Pious Bishops, who have for a long time preserv'd their Flocks in Peace by their gentleness and moderation. The Prince at his first Coming to the Government found Factions in the Church, as well as in the State. He has appeas'd

both the one and the other. The Persecution of the Reformed in *France*, has open'd the Eyes of all their Brethren, and has shew'd them the necessity of guarding themselves from the Fury of the *Jesuits*. All these Conjunctions in my Opinion presage a happy Union of the Protestants.

As to what is said, that the Prince of *Orange* is more absolute in the *United Provinces* than any of his Predecessors, is an Equivocation. For ever since the Establishment of the Commonwealth, the *Hollanders* have always born a very great Affection to the House of *Orange*: but true it is that ever since *William the Silent*, who laid the first Foundations of their Liberty, this State never had a Prince whom they lov'd more than *William Henry*. The reason is because he enter'd upon the Government at a time, when the *Hollanders* seem'd to be ruin'd beyond recovery; and yet he restor'd them to their former Grandeur.

However, notwithstanding this signal Service done them, the dread of War and certain vain Suspicions were the Cause that there was great Opposition made against a *Levee* of sixteen Thousand Men, which the Prince most earnestly press'd for, as better understanding the Designs of *France*, than any of the *Burgomasters* of *Amsterdam*. The Event demonstrated that never was any Opposition made upon such bad Grounds, nor more Prejudicial to the State. For *Lewis* the XIV. boasted in the Edict which revokes that of *Nantes* that he had not made the Truce but to Exterminate the Protestants out of his Kingdom. *James* the II. took that time to perplex the Church of *England*, and to invade the Liberties of his People. At length *France* threw off her Mask, and broke the Truce, as soon as she thought she could do it with Advantage. That long Train of Delusions justify'd the Prince's Innocence; shew'd that he had no other Aim in all his Designs, but the Preservation of Liberty and the Protestant Religion, and gain'd him the Hearts of all the *Hollanders*. And I would fain know how long it has been

been a Crime for a Governour to win the Love of those who are under his Conduct?

Thus you may see how the first Prince *William* render'd himself Absolute; and how the same Power came to be transferr'd to his Successors; not by Usurpation, but by preserving the Liberty of the *Republic*. The form of Government is still the same, the Elections are made by the usual Suffrages; the Resolutions taken for the raising of Money, making Peace and War, Affairs of Trade, Justice and Civil Government, are all determin'd in the Assembly of Estates according to the Ancient Customs; and we are ready to make it appear that for these fifteen Years last past, that *William Henry* has sat at the Helm, he has acted nothing but according to the Laws, and by virtue of the power annex'd to his high Authority and Command.

As to what is reported, that the Prince engag'd the *States General* in his Expedition for *England*, without imparting to them his Design, is a Calumny of his Enemies, which has no other foundation but the Malice of those who are engag'd that he did not make a discovery of that Fortunate Enterprize at such a time, that they might have had more leisure to prepare to obstruct him. And it is an easy thing to convince all Intelligent Persons of the Folly of this Objection.

Suppose this Revolution had been the Effect of long deliberation; it was necessary, before all other things, 1. To be assur'd of the Inclinations of the *English* and *Scotch*, and the Colonies depending upon Them. In these Transactions, the Prince not acting as Governour of the *United Provinces*, but as a Private Person managing his own proper Affairs, he was not oblig'd to make his business known to the *States General*. Nevertheless, I make no question but the Principal Headpieces among them were well inform'd from the beginning of the Design; which is a thing indeed not to be doubted, considering the good Intelligence there has been at the *Hague*.

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for several Years last past; and the unanimous Consent of their High and Mightinesses when the Question was debated, whether they should lend their helping hand to carry on the Work!

2. Since the Defeat of the D. of Monmouth, and the Dragoon Persecutions, France and the Court of England never ceas'd to molest and disquiet the United Provinces. They Exasperated the *Algerines* against them, who adventur'd to exercise their Pyracies upon the Coast of *Holland*. James the II. set open his Ports to those *Corfairs*, and suffer'd them publicly to sell the Prizes which they had taken from his Allies. Lewis the XIV. sought an occasion to pick a Quarrel with the Subjects of the States in the Straights of *Gibraltar*, forbid the Sale of their Herrings, and their Cloath in his Kingdom, and laid Impositions upon all their Merchandizes enter'd in his Ports. In a Word, since the Design for the repeal of the Tests, and the Attempts upon Dr. Burnet, there has been nothing but Memoirs, Complaints and Murmurs on both sides. It was easie for the *Hollanders* to see, that the Two Princes had conspir'd their Ruin; so that the least they could do was to Arm and stand on their Defence. Therefore they rig out a Fleet to protect themselves from the *Algerines*, and the Threats of France. Thereupon out comes the Letter of the Deceas'd Monsieur *Fagel*, that the Court of *England* was drawn into a Conjunction with France by the force of Intreaties, Promises and Menaces repeated one upon the Neck of another. The Misunderstanding increases, and King James keeps an Army on Foot contrary to the Laws of the Land, the Queen is feign'd to be with Child, and a Counterfeit Prince of *Wales* is impos'd upon the Nation. The *Hollanders* reinforce their Army and Navy both by Sea and Land: The French redouble their Threats and the *English* their Murmurs. The latter at length present a Memorial to their Royall Highnesses, wherein they set forth the Cause of their Complaints, and
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invite the Prince to come over and procure the Calling of a Parliament. The Prince condescends to their earnest Supplications, the States Consent, Assist him with Ships, and Souldiers to prevent any Attempt upon his Person? The Prince puts to Sea, accompany'd with the Blessing of Heaven and the Acclamations of the People, and he was receiv'd into *England* with the same Joy, as was seen at his departure out of *Holland*. This was that which was both seen and known to all the Land. What can be from hence concluded, but that there was a great deal of Patience and Prudence on the one side, and Violence and Rashness on the other? So that all that the View of this Transaction could encline a rational Person to was only this, to have a Compassion for *James* the II. and a High Esteem for his Competitor.

But it behoves us to be Candid and to acknowledge, that the Fortunate Assemblage of all these Circumstances would not perhaps have been sufficient, had they been only favour'd by Persons of less exalted Degree, then their Royal Highnesses were. They are both of them Protestants not only by Birth and Education, but also through Affection and choice of a more Understanding; they are of easy Access and Affable, their Conversation Civil and Vertuous; they keep their words exactly; they make it their glory to leave nothing imperfect but to accomplish whatever they take in hand, not enduring the repulse of whatsoever dangers they see before them. They never Abandon those that serve them faithfully, but reward them liberally: they are neither sway'd by Humour nor difficult to Content, and willingly forgive Offences not maliciously committed. They are endow'd with Wisdom, Piety and Vertue; Great Encouragers of Learning and Learned Men, and particularly Church-men. Such Qualities as these would recommend a Private Person to the highest Dignities; but where they meet in Persons of Royal Extraction, what wonder if they

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win upon the Affections of the People. The Valour and Vigilance of the Prince, his Experience in Military Discipline, and his indefatigable Fervency in *Combat* gain him the Hearts of his Souldiers and Allies, his Prudence and piercing Judgment, cause him to be esteem'd by Men of the sublimest intellects, and his probity and sincerity command the Reverence of good Men. His Reputation is so uncontrollable, that the Court of *England*, could never lay any other thing to his Charge but the rigorous Severity of his Military Discipline. The Love which the *Hollanders* have for him is so general, that among the vast Number of Writers with which that State is crowded, of which so many take the Liberty to speak their Minds with freedom enough, there never was but one that endeavour'd to Calumniate the Princes Expedition into *England*; but the Book had so few Readers and sold so ill, that it presently became waste Paper. These were the Reasons of the great Success of *William* the III. For in regard that all the World had a great Love for him, in regard his Designs were equally Just, Pious and Beneficial; that he went to secure his Country, to deliver his Oppress'd Brethren and Neighbours, and to Re-establish the Protestant Religion and the Liberty of the Nation, every body glory'd in contributing to it; no body betray'd him, tho he had several Confidants; and the States lent him their Helping hand so soon as all things were ready. And this was that which made several Strangers believe, that this Design, till it was ripe for Execution, lay deposited in the Breasts of certain faithful Counsellors, who then by a more then usual Dexterity engag'd their *High and Mightinesses* in the Affair. But the truth is, that several Persons were acquainted with it, and that they were sway'd rather by Love then Policy. The Secrecy with which the King of *France* manages his Affairs is greatly wonder'd at; and indeed it is a thing much to be commended, but it is very rare. Tho for ten or twelve Counsellors whose Fortune wholly depends upon the King, to be faithful to him and keep his Secrets is no such extraordinary peice of business. But for an infinite Number of Bishops and Ministers, of Lords, Magistrates and Private Persons, to keep silence so long and to be so true one to another, is that which hardly ever yet was known.

And therefore the best Counsel that can be given to our Enemies would be speedily to make a Peace with a Prince so well belov'd by his own Subjects, and so formidable to his Adversaries: For the time will come, that he will despise their Offers. They vainly flatter them-

themselves to seduce the *Hollanders*, during the Kings abode in *England*, or to raise Disturbances in *England*, while he remains in *Holland*. 'Tis true that feeble Affection which is supported only by Fancy, or only groundd upon some Conformity of Temper and Humour is as frail, as the Foundation is slight: But when Religion, Vertue and the public Interest are the Bonds of Union between the Prince and Subjects, it is a Link inseparable, which the absence of some few Months renders much the stronger: Now the Affection which the two Nations bear to his most Serene Majesty *William* the III. is of the latter sort. The *English* are a Warlike Nation that passionately Loves their Kings, especially when their Inclinations are Martial. Their Princes have for a long time enjoy'd both *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, which oblig'd them frequently to cross the Sea; but we never read in any History that their Subjects took any Advantage of their absence to rise up in Rebellion. The *United Provinces* ever since their first Confederacy having been almost continually engag'd in Wars, are more accusom'd to see their Prince at the Head of their Armies, then at leisure at the *Hague*. So that both the one and the other will easily be contented that his Majesty should visit them by turns. Besides that, the *English* will have Queen *Mary* always present in their Capital City, whose Piety and Vertue, whose great Understanding and Mildness renders her equal to *Elizabeth*; a Person to whom the *Hollanders* were so devoted, that at her departure the chiefest of their wishes were that she might be but as well belov'd at *London*, as she had been at the *Hague*; to which her Royal Highness answer'd, that she desir'd no more.

These are the greatest Difficulties that are propounded and buzz'd abroad by our Male Contents, or which I have been able to think of. Their weakness appears to me a certain presage of the felicity of the People under the Reign of *William* the III. and *Mary* the II. and of that Peace which the Union between *England* and *Holland* will restore to *Europe*.

The SECOND PART.

The Happy Consequences of the Union between FRANCE *and* HOLLAND.*The Means to preserve it entire.*

AMong the happy Consequences of the Union between the Subjects of their Majesties of *Great Britain*, and of their *High and Mightinesses*, there are some which are particular to each of the two Nations; and relate to the form of Government, their Laws and Privileges. But it belongs not to a private Person to meddle with those sorts of Matters, as being the business of Parliaments and Assemblies of Estates. Other Consequences there are more general, wherein divers Confederate Princes, several Countries, all the Protestants, and all *Europe* find themselves interested, and upon which we shall make some Reflections.

I place in the first rank, the bringing down the Power of *France*; not believing that I could begin with a more pleasing Subject. Since the *Pyrenean* Peace that Kingdom has mounted to a Degree of Grandeur and Pride which have render'd *France* insupportable to all her Neighbours; so that it is neither the Wealth nor the Welfare of the *French* People that are envy'd (for Men have more reason to be mov'd with Compassion at the sight of their Miseries.) 'Tis against their blindness that Men exclaim, and that indispenable fury that hurries them on to make others as miserable as themselves; instead of complying with their good Intentions, and permitting the release of those miserable People from the sad Condition wherein they are. If *France* were enrich'd by Trade, by Manufacture, by a long Peace; if it were aggrandiz'd by Mariages and Alliances, by the free Concessions of Princes, or by the vast Concurrences and Conflux of People to her Territories, we should be so far from troubling her repose, that we should do our utmost to imitate her Example. But it is well known that her Conquests and her Riches are the Effects of Breach of Faith, and her

unjust Wars, of her Vexations and Oppressions, and the vast Contributions which she exacts from the People; so that the generality of the Subjects are reduc'd by the Court to that Condition as not to be able to subsist but in the midst of the Rage of War, by Pillage, Robbery and Ranfack.

The bare Duties of Humanity would oblige their Neighbours to redeem them from a Condition so opposite to the public good and the Salvation of their Souls; nor is the particular Interest of other People an Obligation less engaging to the same Effect. Since that under the pretence of Religion, the Dragoons have ruin'd the best Families in the Kingdom, wasted their Estates, and disabl'd the Proprietors to make the best of their demesns, and to continue their Trades: since as an Accumulation of their Misfortune, the Privateers being become Masters of the Seas, Trade has undergon so sensible a decay, that ten Years more, like the three last, will produce a far greater mischief then a general Pestilence for ten Months; in regard they would be the ruin of an infinite Number of Families, which by means of their Wealth and Industry, are at present the support and glory of *Europe*.

Considering the present Constitution of our Western Parts, the Wines, the Strong-waters, the Oyl and Salt of *France*, are Merchandizes which Foreigners can hardly live without. But the Inhabitants being impoverish'd, and not able to burthen themselves with those things which would be given them in exchange, they that want their Wares, must be oblig'd to carry ready Money, and to afford new Matter to feed the Extortions of the Collectors, and the Insatiable Avarice of the *Chief Ministers*. Add to this, that if the War happen to spin out in length, the great Number of Soldiers that must be rais'd throughout the Kingdom, will be the cause that the greatest part of the Lands must lye untill'd; and that the infinite Wealth accruing by the profits of the Land would be all lost.

If it be so then, some will say, that it is so much the Interest of Foreigners to Labour the preservation of *France*, it behoves them speedily to make a Peace with her. 'Tis very true, that there could be nothing more advantageous then a general Peace; but the mischief is, that considering the present Condition of Affairs, it is neither safe nor possible to conclude a Peace; besides that, it is also more uncertain and more difficult to be assur'd that it shall be of any long continuance. Therefore before we talk of Peace, it will be requisite.

1. That *Levis* the XIV. Re-establish the Edict of *Nantes*, and re-

store the *Reformed* to the same Condition wherein they were before the Death of *Hen. IV.* and make restitution of all the Damages which they have sustain'd since the *Pyrenean Peace*; but more especially since the Truce in the Year — 84. It would be an eternal Ignominy to the Protestants, to suffer the public Violation of the Treaties concluded with their Brethren, without alledging any other reason, but only that they are not *Roman Catholics*, nor of the King's Religion. If these Reasons could take Place, or that a Prince could break his Promises made to his Subjects and persecute them with Fire and Sword, meerly because they are not Christians after his manner, what shall hinder him from breaking the Contracts made with his Allies, that are of another belief which is different from his?

2. If the public Faith engages the Protestants States to restore the *Reformed* of *France*, it also excites the Catholic Potentates to require Satisfaction for the Injuries done them by that Crown, which has omitted no sort of Usurpations, increase to it's Grandeur either by unjust Wars, or in full Peace. Therefore it is but requisite, that now for the obtaining of Peace, *Lewis* the XIV. should make reparation for all his Neighbours losses, of which himself has been the occasion in the last War, since the Treaty of *Nimeghen* and the Breach of the Truce; that he restore what he unjustly detains from the *Empire*, from *Spain*, from the King of *England*, from the *United Provinces*, from the *Electors*, the *D. of Lorrain*, the *Pope* and the Princes of *Italy*.

3. The King of *France* never failing of Pretences to break the most Sacred Leagues, no body that I know would be willing to trust him, nor to be *Guarantees* for the performance of the offers he should make, unless it were the *Grand Signior*, with whom he has renew'd and confirm'd his Ancient Alliances. And therefore it will be requisite that he surrender up several strong Towns and Garrisons as Pledges for his performance, upon condition that they shall remain confiscated to the Parties into whose hands they are surrender'd, in case he break the Peace to be concluded.

Now in regard it is most certain that *France* will find such Articles very burthensome, at least that she will never subscribe or put them in Execution, there is no Foundation to be laid upon her promises; whence it is clear, that to procure the Peace of *Europe*, there is a necessity that she must be constrain'd to it by Attacking her on several sides.

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This will be no difficult thing to bring to pass, if the *Empire, Spain, England, Swedeland* and the *United Provinces* confirm their Alliance, and if the Confederates create a particular General, to the end that their Forces United under one *Generalissimo* may act by consent and unanimously against the common Enemy.

In all times, misunderstanding has ruin'd the strongest Leagues; of which we have seen frequent and fatal Examples in the last War. If *France* therefore can yet find any means to disunite the Confederates, they may assure themselves that the opportunity for pulling down the Power of *France* will not be long in their hands. *France* will make use of her usual methods, by bribing the Governors of Garrisons, corrupting the Treasurer's, that the Army may still want either Money or Provision; by gaining the chief Ministers of the several Courts, on purpose to make false reports to their Masters, or impertinent and unseasonable Orders to the Generals, and sowing jealousies between them, to make them draw off one from another in the greatest urgency of Affairs. And it is very probable that the greatest part of these misfortunes will not fail to happen, if the Confederates do not agree to confer the supreme command of General upon one Person, in whose power it shall be to make the whole Body Act Unanimously, and who shall have Reputation and Authority sufficient to restrain the inferior Generals within the bounds of their duty.

We are verily perswaded, that neither Flatteries, Promises, Pension, no *Louis's* of Gold, will be able to disarm the Protestant Princes. Therefore *France* begins to despair of seducing them that way, but gives it out that this is a War for the sake of Religion; consequently that the Catholic Potentates ought to unite with her to prevent the Establishing the Reformation all over *Europe*. But it is the ruin of his *Machiavillian* Politics which he dreads more than the Establishment of the Reformation. In the mean while the pretence is specious, because he judges of others by himself, and for that the Zeal of the *Roman* Clergy pushing him on to destroy the pretended *Herenics*, he imagines the Resolutions of the reformed to be the same.

This is an Error of which it is of great Importance to convince these Gentlemen; though it be no difficult thing to undeceive them, if they will but take the pains to mind the following Reflections.

i. That it is a Fundamental maxim of the Reformation, that every Man has a right to examine the Religion he intends to profess;

to

to judge of it by his own understanding, and to believe nothing but what he is perswaded of the Truth in his Conscience. Whence the Protestants infer, that no human Authority ought to force Men to exercise a Worship which they believe unlawful, or to profess an Opinion which they conceive to be false.

Clear it is, that this Doctrine is directly opposite to the Spirit of Persecution; for if it be not lawful for the Pastors to constrain Christians to believe or practise what they hold to be false and forbidden of God; much less is it lawful to employ the Power of the secular Arm to the same effect.

It signifies nothing to say, that among us we Excommunicate *Hetics*, or that we have frequently Persecuted Ministers and Private Persons for the same reason. For as for Excommunication, in respect of Speculative Opinions it is no more of it's self than a bare Declaration that such or such a one, has not those Qualities which are requir'd to fit him to be a Member of such or such a Society. In which case, it is not accompany'd with any mark of Infamy or civil Punishment.

Suppose for Example that any Minister of the Church of England is perswaded, that Episcopacy is no lawful Government, that he cannot in conscience preach upon Holy-days, or perform other Functions to which the Ministry obliges him; and that thereupon he goes to his *Diocesan*, and lays down his Function; promising all the rest of his life to live quietly at home, or in Communion with the Faithful; Sure I am that if they could not undeceive him, they would bewail his Ignorance; but yet they would be so far from using him as a Criminal, that they would admire his Probity. But if the same Divine should make use of the Liberty of his Function to excite the People to contemn the Bishops, and to trample their constitutions under foot, by shewing them himself an ill example; then it would be but just to punish him, not as a Person that holds erroneous opinions, but as a disturber of the Public Peace.

This Maxim takes no farther place than to preserve the order and unity of Ecclesiastical Discipline; for Politic Toleration is so much in practise among the Protestants, that as well the particular Members of their Body, as those that are not of the Communion of their Churches, have all the liberty to believe and say what they think fitting in respect of Religion, provided they do not broach Impieties or trouble the State with Factions and Cabals.

2. The Spirit of Infallibility is so natural to Men that are Proud and full of self Love, and is so linkt with the desire of advancing their own Sentiments, that we have no cause to wonder that the Reformed have retain'd some small remainder of this Laven; as being sprung from a Church which holds Infallibility for one of its Fundamental Doctrins, and conveys it from the Head to all its Members. But during the last Persecution, the Protestants have written so many Treatises to destroy that wicked Principle; they have testify'd such an Abhorrence of all manner of Persecution both in their private and public discourses; they have demonstrated in such a convincing manner that truth persuades, but never forces; that God alone is the sole Lord of the Heart, and that to attempt to force it, would be an Attack upon the Prerogative of the supreme Majesty, that though Conscience and the Spirit of Religion should not incline them to support all others their fellow Christians, the Honour of observing one equal conduct, and the shame of contradicting themselves, would persuade them to Toleration.

3. Before we believe that Intelligent Persons are capable of committing those faults which they detect, and which are contrary to their Principles, we ought to examin whether there be any conceal'd motive of Interest which inclines them to such absurdities. Thus though Pope *Pelagius*, the fourth *Lateran Council*, and several other Pontiffs and Assemblies of the *Roman Church*, had not canoniz'd the Persecution of the *Heretics*, though the *Council of Constance* had never declar'd it to be lawful to break faith with the *Hugonots*, though the same Church of *Rome* had never put these Principles in Practice by Imprisonment, Exile, Proscription, and torments of such Christians as were not within the pale of their Communion, yet we had reason to suspect her guilty of this design, because it is perfectly agreeable to their Interests. The *Roman Clergy* is a Monarchical Body, of which all the several Members are in a capacity of Aspiring, not only to the highest employments both in Church and State, but even to Sovereignty it self. Now the more numerous these dignities and employments are, the more reason have Private Persons to hope; and as certain it is that extent of Empire increases the Number of Preferments. Therefore it is, that in all Monarchies that incline to Tyranny, the surest means to extend their dominion, is to carry as high as may be the Sovereign Prerogative, though at the expence of the Peoples liberty. Then again, besides the secular Ecclesiastics, there are infinite swarms of *Mons* whose principal business

business it is to extend the bounds of the Pontifical Empire ; in regard the vaster it is, the richer, the more powerful, and more respected their several Societies will be ; and the more the employments of Particular Persons. Now the *Reformed* are the declared Enemies of this Church ; they not only refuse Obedience to the Head of it, to acknowledge it's Ministers and Officers, or to admit of it's Maxims ; but they also ruin the Foundations of its subsistence, in Preaching down the *Mass*, Indulgencies, Purgatory they drain and dry up the very Fountains of its Wealth by condemning Images, Relics, Invocation of Saints, Bulls and Dispensations from *Rome*, they destroy the respect and reverence which the People have for it, in rejecting it's Infallibility, Transubstantiation, Adoration of Saints, and the refusal of the Cup to the Laity. Who can doubt after all this, but that the *Pope*, the *Monks* and Clergy of *Rome* are mainly interested to extinguish the Reformation, and extirpate the *Reformed* ?

It is not so with the Protestants ; in regard that neither their Principles, nor their Interest prompt them to Persecute the *Catholics*. I must acknowledge, that 'tis for the glory and reputation of the *English* Bishops, that all the Subjects of the Kingdom should be Members of the Church of *England* ; But neither their Jurisdiction nor their Revenues would be much enlarged by the conjunction of the *Roman Catholics*. As for the *Presbyterian Ministers* in other States, all the profit which they get by the conversion of their Adversaries, is to have a more numerous Auditory in some places, and to be at more trouble in visiting their Parishioners.

4. But what necessity of Physical Reflections where the thing speaks it self? You shall never find our Bishops, nor our Ministers rambling over Sea and Land, and Vagabonding about the World to gain *Proselytes*, nor Besieging the Houses of the public Magistrates to obtain decrees against the *Roman Catholics*. Our Princes and our Governors suffer them to live unmolested, at the same time that they Persecute our Brethren. In a word the *Protestants* are all a sort of Republicans, whose Government is *Aristocratical* in *England*, *Democratical* in *Holland*, and composed of both among the *Lutherans*, but no where Monarchical : So that all they mind is to preserve themselves in Peace without giving any trouble to others. Thus the *Roman Catholics* have no cause to mistrust us, and it is long of them, that we do not live together like Brethren, at least like Christians and good Friends. Therefore let them surcease to hate and Persecute us, for we wish them no ill, and we likewise offer to bury in

Oblivion all the mischeifs they have caus'd us to suffer, in favour of those who shall joyn themselves with us to extirpate Tyranny, and reestablish the *PEACE OF EUROPE*.

This is that *Summum Bonum*, that Sovereign Good, the Perfection and Fountain of all the Rest, which will naturally spring from the debasing and humbling the Power of *France* : and this is that, which they who understand the designs and Pretensions of that Crown, will easily apprehend by giving never so little Attention to what we are going to say.

The Grand complaint against that Monarchy is for pretending to the *Universal Monarchy* ; Nor are they mistaken in their Accusation. And I dare affirm, that had it not been for the great Revolution in *England*, that *France* was upon the Point of obtaining what she had been so long thirsting after. People will say perhaps, that she had several Countries yet to conquer. But I could answer that all the rest of *Europe* was not in a condition to make much resistance. The *Emperor* and the *Venetians* engag'd in a War against the *Turk*, *Denmark* ally'd to *Lewis* the XIV. *Spain* exhausted and under the conduct of a Woman, [dead some weeks ago] that had a kindness for her own Country, *Portugal* and the Princes of *Italy* almost in the same condition ; the King of *England* embroyl'd and in confusion at home, and *Germany* divided. What could *Sweden* and the *United Provinces* have done. They would only have been glad to have been the last attack'd.

But it may be reply'd, that we live not in those conquering times, nor in those Ages when they were wont to bring all into the Field that were able to bear Arms, or when two or three Battels decided the Destiny of *Empires* ; that according to the manner of spinning out a War now a days the lives of five or six Kings equally Prosperous would not suffice to Conquer all *Europe*. To which I have another answer to make ; that the same methods are not taken, nor the same ways us'd as formerly to gain the *Universal Monarchy*. The People of *Europe* are so accusom'd to be rul'd by different Princes, that there would be little reason to fear a King who should conceive a design to subdue them all, and afterwards to govern them by his Lieutenants ; in regard his design would be no less saprastic then impossible. A *Universal Monarch* then, at present, is quite another thing then an Absolute Prince at home, and who has reduc'd his Neighbours so low that they are not able to enterprize any thing against him ; that they are constrain'd to brook his outrages and injuries, and to suffer him to do what he pleases. Now is there any Person

Person of good credit that can deny but that *France* was almost arriv'd at this high Pitch of Grandeur and that in all outward Appearance he had attain'd to what he desir'd, had *James II.* his faithful Ally, kept firm upon his Throne.

Now let the Confederates consider whether it be not their interest to humble the Pride of *France*, and whether they will ever meet with an opportunity more Favourable. Not that I would advise them to the Tryal of an Absolute conquest of *France*; but if they can but regain what she has wrested from them, restore the Duke of *Lorain* to his own, and as occasion offers, sever the Dukedoms of *Normandy*, *Britain* and *Guyen* as formerly they were divided, and which is no more then what is long'd for by the inhabitants at this day; take advantage of the discontents of the People to re-establish the custom of calling free *Assemblies of Estates*, and in a Word divide that vast Kingdom into several Principalities, and reduce it to the same condition wherein it was toward the end of the Second Race, and at the beginning of the Third, before *Philip the August*; at what time the Kings of *France*, had something else to do then trouble their Brains about disturbing their Neighbours quiet.

Perhaps some *French-man* will tell me I am a Traytor to my Nation, and give that Advice which is enough to embroyl the Kingdom in Civil War. But there is nothing of that in my design; for I dare protest with a safe conscience that my Principal aim is only to assist my fellow Country-men in the recovery of their liberty. Though if they cannot recover it but by a Civil War, that may last for some Years, is it not infinitely to be prefer'd before an eternal slavery? But say my opposers, these Petty Princes will be always quarrelling one with another? And do not the great ones do the same? Let the Counts of *Foix* and *Armagnac* fight it out as long as they please, the rest of *France* takes no notice of their brawls. But when *Lewis* the XIV. Rendevouzes three hundred thousand Men, he drains and depopulates a great Kingdom, and strikes such a terror into all his Neighbours, that they are compell'd to oppress their People, to withstand his Invasions, besides a War between two petty Princes can never last long; for that in a short time they find themselves both so enfeebld, that they are constrain'd to agree. This is the only means to procure a general Peace, and to prevent *France* from breaking the Treaties that shall be concluded with her.

THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRINCES DISPOSSESS'D, AND OF THE PROTESTANTS EXIL'D is another

of the most happy and important consequences of the Union of the Confederates. Wars are the *Law-suits* of Princes, Battels and Conquests are their Judges ; and the mischief is that these Judges are both blind and inconstant ; and there is always Appeal from their decrees so soon as the vanquish'd finds himself in a condition to come to a new Tryal. And therefore that Christendom may be restor'd to a general and lasting Peace there is a necessity of fixing, as far as lies in mortal Power, the Fate and destiny of Armed Decisions, by bringing the *Protestants* of *Europe* to such an equal Ballance, that no one may be easily able to oppress the Rest. We have sought in vain for this Medium, ever since the *Pyrenean Treaty* ; for that the strength of *Spain* decay'd of a suddain, and *England* which was only able to oppose the Progress of the *French*, intended nothing less. Now the medal begins to turn ; *Great Britain* is at liberty, *Germany* is United, the *Empire* grows powerful ; and it may be said without any injury to the valour of the rest of the Generals, neither to his Highness the Elector of *Bavaria*, that the *Emperour* is chiefly beholding for the Victories which he has gain'd over the Grand Enemy of the *Christian Name*, since the Seige of *Vienna*, to Duke *Charles* of *Lorain*. It would be therefore a great peice of injustice, if that Noble Prince should not Reap as well the Fruit of his Labours, as the Honour of having so many times triumph'd over the Infidels. *Hungary* being reduc'd, and the Hereditary Countries of the House of *Austria* being secured for a long time from the terrour of the *Ottoman Arms*, deserve without doubt, that the *Empire* should do it's utmost to restore it's Preserver, to the Inheritance of his Ancestors. I dare affirm also that his Atcheivments are of that importance to the Glory and Repose of the Imperial Family, that they ought to preserve the memory of this Victorious Champion, and testify their acknowledgment to his Posterity, if Fate prevent them from returning their Gratitude to himself.

Interest and Vertue are not always Enemies to one another, they agree perfectly well upon this occasion. The Conquests of *France* in the *Low Countries* ; the Invasion of *Lorain*, of *Franche Comte*, and *Alsatia*, have render'd her so potent and so near a Neighbour to the *Empire*, that at length in the last Campaign, she took *Philipbourg*, and has almost made her self Mistress of the four *Electors* of the *Rhine*. So that if the revolution in *England*, had not hasten'd her to the defence of her own Country, 'tis very probable that she would have carry'd on her Victories with little or no Obstruction, Crown'd the *Dauphin*, King of the *Romans*, and reduc'd in time the Electors of *Saxony*,

Saxony, Brandenburg and Bavaria, the Landgraves, of Hesse, and the rest of the Princes of Germany, to the same condition as the Ancient Dukes of Normandy, Guyen and Burgundy; that is to say, to nothing.

The *Roman Catholics* may imagin, that the Re-establishment of the Exil'd *Protestants* does not concern them; But it more nearly concerns them, then they are aware of. It is said that one of the Causes which hasten'd the ruin of the Reformed in *France* was this; because the Court was sensible of their discontents and murmurings during the War with the *United Provinces*. They were accus'd of holding Intelligence which the *Hollanders*, and of discovering to them the Secrets of State, and furnishing them with Money, and some of their Ministers were imprison'd upon that Account. This was only a Malicious Invention of two or three *Monks*; they never could produce any Proofs against the Parties accus'd, unless it were some slight Expressions that dropt unwarily from their Lips; and in regard it was no good Policy to discover the weakness and divisions of the Kingdom, the business was hush'd up, and the Persons let go. Nevertheless as it is common for those that are troubled with a bad Conscience, to fear their own shaddows, these reports and murmurs made a deep impression in the Minds of the Courtiers. They apprehended that there was nothing so dangerous as to ruin People by halves, to provoke a Powerful Body to the highest degree and leave them the means to revenge themselves. Upon which there happen'd a slight Insurrection in *Sevrennes* and the *Dauphinate*. Several poor People being gather'd together without any Leader, without any support or defence, a fancy took them to Preach upon the Ruins of their Churches. The Kings Ministers took the Alarum as if the four Corners of *France* had been on Fire, and being secure of *England*, nor apprehending any danger from the *Low-Countries*, nor *Germany*, after the twenty Years Truce, and the defeat of *Monmouth*, they began the utter Extirpation of the *Reformed*, after that manner which is known to every Body.

Besides the Motives to the Persecution, recited in the first Part of this Treatise, there is one which has not yet been mention'd, which perhaps is the chiefest. For that *France* having laid the Design of Invading the *Empire*, was afraid that while she should be busied in the Execution of it, the *Reformed* should betake themselves to their Arms in Defence of their Liberties, and their Languishing Religion. Let the Reader judge whether this were a groundless

groundless Fear or no ; However it appear'd that the Court was strook with it, by the way which they took to extinguish the Reformation in that Kingdom.

There were two things Aim'd at, in sending the Dragoons among those People ; the first was to ruin the best Families because they were able to lend Mony, which is the Sinews of the War ; the other to destroy the most devout and zealous, as being the support of the Religious Societies. Constancy is a vertue very rare ; exalted Minds and undaunted Courages but few ; but they are the Soul that moves the great Body, and like the Salt which preserves it from Corruption ; so that when the Soul expires, or the Salt looses its strength, the Societies dye or fall into fainting Fits, which are a certain Presage of their utter Destruction. Vulgar Courage, or a resolution of some few days or hours, may cause a Man to Contemn Death ; but it requires a Constancy more then *Heroic*, to suffer long contriv'd Torments, incessantly renew'd, and which one would think would never have an end. This last sort of Torments it was, the most unsupportable of all, which the Court of *France* made use of to exercise their Cruelty upon the *Reformed*. And indeed that Court has been very Successful ; for those People that would have despis'd a Flaming Bavin, where they had been stifled in a quarter of an hour ; wanted resolution to dye a thousand times in one day.

Yet several Persons of Quality saw themselves despoil'd of their Estates, depriv'd of their Employments, and torn from their Families ; and have endur'd Imprisonment and other Ignominious Usage, till the Cruelty of their Persecutors was almost tyr'd. Great Numbers of the Common People have undergon all that the Insolence and Barbarism of the Dragoons could invent, the most Merciless and most Outragious ; nor have there been wanting of the feeble Sex, who have signaliz'd their Constancy. And many of those whom continu'd Torments had constrain'd to sign Ambiguous Professions of Faith, repenting soon after forsook all, and departed the Kingdom, exposing themselves to be Condemn'd to the Gallies, to be banish'd into *Canada*, and to the most exquisite of Torments which have been inflicted upon some. Others have refus'd to go to Mass, and have endur'd the extremity of Torment with a Constancy beyond the former. A good Number have stay'd behind in hopes of a speedy Deliverance : Nevertheless a Man would hardly believe how many have peris'd in the midst of these Miseries ; or else that still are forc'd to endure their Miseries in Exile.

It cannot be deny'd but that *France* gave it self a very great Wound; Nor did the Court without doubt believe, that the perswasion of the truth had so much force upon the Souls of Men, because they had never put it to the Tryal. So that finding that the Number of the faint and dastardly was not so great as they thought, they let go those whose Constancy fortify'd the weak, and set open the Gates of the Kingdom for some few days, on purpose to give the more zealous an Opportunity to escape, tho they would not suffer them to carry any thing along with them.

It is evident that those of our Brethren who escap'd are the most Couragious and the most Politic, as well as Fortunate. Which being suppos'd, if the Confederates neglect to restore the Protestants of *France*, one of these two things will necessarily follow. The first is that the Court believing themselves engag'd in Honour, and continuing their ill usage to the most Constant, at length either Sorrow or Misery will bring them to their end: and then the rest being destitute of this support, and the hopes of Delivery, will endeavour to reconcile their Consciences and their Understandings to the prevailing Religion, and of Politic Catholics will become Superstitious-Zelots.

But on the other side, if the King will be pleas'd to open his Eyes, and to free himself from the fear of a Civil War, while his Forces are employ'd against Foreigners, shall recall the Banish'd, and restore to the *Reformed* their Estates and Ancient Franchises, the greatest part will return to their Country. Native Air, the Ancient Constitutions, and free Converse with Kindred and Friends are such powerful Attractions, which will much surmount the feeble remains of Fear; more especially considering, that few of those who fled for Sanctuary, but met with among Foreigners as great Advantaggs, as those which they left at home.

Either of which two things if they fall out, *France* will find herself in nine or ten Years as peaceable, and formidable to her Enemies, as she was under the Reign of *Lewis* the XII. before the Reformation, or toward the end of the Reign of *Hen.* IV. after the Edict of *Nantes*. The *French* are the best People in the World; if their Kings do but put confidence in them, they forget all the ill Usages they have receiv'd, and Sacrifice their particular Interest to the necessities of the State.

During

During the Civil War, 1651. under the Minority of *Charles IX.* the Princes sought the Alliance of *Q. Elizabeth* as being of their Religion; She assisted them; but not with all that Vigour which good Policy requir'd. For the *French* Pensions had corrupted the greatest part of her Counsellors. The Protestants had put *Havre de Grace* into the Hands of the *English*, who neglected to Succour them as they ought to have done. So that after the Battle of *Dreux*, the Princes were overjoy'd when propositions of Peace were made them. When the Peace was concluded, they declar'd War against *Q. Elizabeth*, and Besieg'd *Havre de Grace*. All the *French* flock'd thither, with an ardor more then ordinary, and the *Hugonots* in greater Numbers, then the Catholics. The Earl of *Warrwick*, who Commanded the Place was astonish'd at this suddain Change, and endeavour'd to flatter the *Reformed* with new Hopes; to which they answer'd, that remiss and faint-hearted Friends were more to be fear'd then reconcil'd Enemies.

But if the Confederates vigorously press forward the Re-establishment of the Edict of *Nantes*, and will not admit of any Peace, but upon that Condition, they will gain the Hearts of the Protestants of that Kingdom, and may be assur'd of a strong Parry, that will look with an Evil Eye upon the Invasion of *Germany*, considering it as a forerunner of the downfall of their Religion.

The Re-establishment of the Exiles, will be attended with another Benefit; without which the comfort of the rest will be quite lost, and Peace will prove a Misfortune; I mean, the *surceasing of the Persecutions*. I shall not trouble my self to prove that forc'd Conversions are contrary to the *Genius* of the Gospel, and more proper to make Men Hypocrites then Christians. 'Tis a Subject upon which others have prosperously exercis'd their Pens, and which rather belongs to Theology then Policy: I shall only observe, that Interests of State obliges all the Princes of *Europe* to force a Cessation of Persecutions. 1. Because they deprive them of their best Subjects. 2. Because they inspire others with the Spirit of Cruelty and Rebellion. 3. Because they shake the very Foundations of Civil Society. 4. Because they render the Government Feeble and Odious.

Most certain it is, that Vertuous Persons are the support of a Kingdom, and that the Character of an honest Man is to do nothing against his Conscience. Let the Conscience be erroneous or not, it always guides us to love Truth and Vertue, and to sacrifice all things to that which the inward Light of our Understanding represents

presents to us as such. So that when any one suffers loss of Goods, Exile, Imprisonment or Death, because he will not conform to a Worship which he believes to be forbidden by God, or profess an Opinion which he conceives to be false, it cannot be deny'd but that he Acts like an honest Man, tho perhaps he may be in the wrong.

To this it may be objected, that if we admit this Rule, we ought to let go Robbery, Murder, Adultery and all other Crimes unpunish'd, out of respect to them, who believe them to be no Sins. To which I answer, that there is no Toleration to be granted to those that do not believe in God, nor the morality of the Gospel; for that the Laws, which are the foundation of our Christian Republics, are so link'd to the Precepts of Christ, that they cannot subsist without them. Add to this, that those Precepts are so clear, that they who should deny them, would be lookt upon as Prodigies, whom we might with good reason believe to be more malicious and wicked than ignorant, and that they were fitter to be lockt up for Mad-men, or to be punish'd as Disturbers of the public Peace. But there is not the same judgment to be made of speculative Opinions, which relate to the Ecclesiastical Government, or the forms of divine Service; the Number of those that differ in those things is almost infinite, and the wisest Men many times wander so far from Truth in Reference to these Particulars, that they are pity'd by their Opponents.

Persecution inspires the Vulgar Sort, the Ignorant and Superstitious with Cruelty, who are the Spectators, and frequently the Instruments of the Mischief which they cause others to suffer for the Truth. What can a Prince expect from a People accusom'd to Rob and Pillage their Neighbours, and to overwhelm them with Injuries, because they had rather hear a Sermon than go to Mass? Does not this infuse a fear into them lest the Monks, Priests and Seditious Preachers should turn the Fury of the Rabble upon their Sovereigns? The pretended Holy League, and the Tragical End of Hen. the III. one would think should cause a trembling in the Joynts of all Persecuting Princes.

For a Prince to Persecute his Subjects for Religion sake is to ruin Trade: For that if the People make a public Profession of it; and the Prince on the other side, sends his Dragoons to deprive them of their Liberties, to sack their Houses, waste and confiscate their Estates, Imprison or Banish them and their Families; In the midst of
I these

these Disorders a great Number of Debts remaining unpaid will cause a great number of Bankrupts; besides that vast numbers of poor People, that were set to Work and got their Livings by those that are Persecuted, must be forc'd to starve. All these Inconveniences have befallen *France*, as it is well known. Nor does the public exercise of the Reformed Religion being forbid, make e're a whit the better for those that stay behind; for the Old Catholics will never trust the News Ones, their Kindred or their Friends, of which they see some or other every day making their Escapes; nor will Foreigners either Traffic or send their Goods, to a Country where there is so little Security.

Persecution is an unexhaustible source of Knavery, as affording Treacherous and Revengeful Persons, an easie means to ruin their Adversaries. An Attorney or Counsellor, that the Cause may go of his Clients side, has no more to do but to plead that their Adverse Party is a frequenter of the private Assemblies of the Reformed, that he rarely goes to Mass, or that he spoke contemptibly of Transubstantiation, or some other of the Tenets of the *Romish* Church. There is no need of going into *Italy*, or *Spain*, *Portugal*, or the *Indies*, to find Examples for this. *France* it self will furnish us with a great Number within these few Years, and we might produce some more particularly, were it not that some Persons are concern'd for whom We have too great kindness.

After all this, there is no wonder that Persecution renders the Government Odious; the fatal Consequences of the Inquisition are fresh in memory, and the great Opposition which was every where made against the setting of it up. It was expell'd out of *France* and the *Low Countries*, reduc'd almost to nothing in the Venetian Commonwealth, and the *Romans* defac'd and pull'd down the Arms and Statutes of *Paul IV.* out of their hatred to his memory for having impos'd that Yoke upon them. Almost all Persecutors have been the Object of the Peoples Hatred, and their Ends have been such for the most part as their Cruelties deserv'd.

The principal Strength of a King consists in the Hearts of his People, so that when a Prince and his Ministers are become Odious, the Government can never be said to be strong. A clear Example of which we see in *James the II.* But if that be not a proof sufficient, because *England* is altogether Protestant, let us call to mind the lustre of the House of *Guise*, which the *League* reduc'd so low; the downfal of the House of *Austria*, after the Union between the *United Provinces*

Provinces and Gustaphus Adolphus. Let us compare the Reigns of *Mary and Elizabeth*, of *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* of *Charles the IX.* and *Hen. III.* of *Hen. IV.* and *Lewis the XIII.*

Therefore the shortest and surest means to stifle the Spirit of Persecution is to procure the **REUNION OF THE PROTESTANTS**, who living in the same Communion would make a Body so considerably Puissant, that the *Roman Catholics*, would not so much as think of disturbing them. Thus we have set forth the Original of our Divisions, the causes that have fomented them, and the hopes that we have of an approaching Union. We are now to shew that this reconciliation is not so difficult as People believe. All our Controversies roul upon the same form of Ecclesiastical Government; upon the manner of Christ's being present in the Eucharist, and upon the *Idea* of Predestination.

As to the Ecclesiastical Government, I do not believe that any Protestant will deny me the following propositions that seem to be unquestionable, and of which there are some that are the foundation of our Reformation.

1. That a Church is a Body or Society of several Persons that agree together upon certain Points of Doctrine, and upon a certain form of public Worship.

2. That every Church in the Quality of a Body makes up a Part of the Civil Society, and every one of its Members is a Member also of the State: and consequently that in that respect they are under the Sovereign Jurisdiction.

3. That it is in the Power of the Magistrate to regulate the exterior Government of growing Societies or of such as are not yet Etablish'd by public Authority, and so grant them Laws and Priviledges.

4. That he cannot change the Government of those which he finds already form'd, nor deprive them of their Rights and Priviledges; unless perhaps in some extraordinary Cases.

5. That the Sovereign is Born Head of the Church he is a Member.

6. That there is no precise Form of Ecclesiastical Discourse or Exterior Government prescrib'd in History, or in the *New Testament*. Indeed we find there general Precepts to avoid Tyranny, Anarchy and Superstition, to do all things with Decency and in Order; and to turn all things to Piety, and the Edification of the Faithful.

7. That the Episcopacy be the most Ancient of all Ecclesiastical Governments, because the *Roman Empire* where the Gospel was first divulg'd, was a Monarchy; Nevertheless the Form of Government is a thing indifferent of it's self; and the best Discipline is that which best agrees with the Nature of the Gospel, with the natural Dispositions and Customs of the People, and the Constitution of the Government.

8. After the *Roman Empire* came to be dismember'd, the several Sovereigns that shar'd it between them have as much right to regulate within their own Dominions the Discipline of the Church, as the *Christian Emperors* had. So that the Order of Presbytery cannot be Condemn'd in a Republic, where the Magistrate has made choice of it as the most conformable to the Government of the Country.

9. The last proposition includes certain Consequences which require explanation. 1. That considering the present Constitution of *Europe*, a Universal Bishop is a kind of a Monster: and that it is also of dangerous Consequence that a Bishop, an Abbot, or other Prelate should have a Jurisdiction over any part of the Clergy belonging to Neighbouring Princes. 2. That *Oecumenic Councils* are no more to be held, but by the Consent of all the Christian Princes; because those Councils were no more then General Assemblies of the Clergy of the *Roman Empire*, which is now no longer in being. 3. Supposing such an unexpected Happiness that all the Princes of *Europe*, or the greatest Part should agree to call a General Council, it would not be their business to handle Matters of Government, nor of Discipline, of which it would be in vain to seek for a Uniformity; only to apply themselves to examin the Differences among the Christians about the Points of Doctrine, and to regulate, if it may be done, the Number of the Fundamental Articles, to determine what we ought to believe thereupon, and so to order it, that the Christians, notwithstanding some few Controversies of little Consequence among them, may always stand their ground, look upon each other as Brethren, and Communicate with the same willingness upon all Occasions together, as they obey the several Magistrates of the several Countries through which they Travel.

10. Schism is a separation occasion'd by particular Persons that forsake the Communion of a Church Authoriz'd by the Laws of a Kingdom to set up particular Congregations, and that only for some defect which they find in the Discipline of the Church, for some Ceremony,

Ceremony, or for some Point of Doctrine not Fundamental. Thus the *Labadists*, and the *Anabaptists* of *Holland* who differ from the rest of the *Reformed* only about the time of the Administration of the Sacrament of *Baptism*, are *Schismatics*. The *Protestants* of *France*, of *Poland*, of *Hungary* are not so; but would be *Hereticks*, if the Doctrine of *Rome* were true. The *Catholics* of *Spain* and *Italy*, who accuse the *Protestants* of *England*, *Germany* and the *Low Countries* of *Schism*, are Ridiculous: for that the Magistrates of the *North* have as much right to regulate the Exterior Government of Religion, as those of the *South*.

11. *Schism* is very dangerous; they who are the Promoters of it, will have much to answer for at the last day; and they who Harbour and Entertain it are no less Guilty. It is the Original of many Quarrels between private Persons, and of Factions in the State: Add to this, that many times it happens that the Ringleaders of the weaker Party, for fear of being forsaken by their Followers, they fill their Heads with Opinions, which cause them to forsake in good earnest the Communion of the lawful Church. We know what has happen'd to one Sect, which has made a great noise in the World, only because a few Learned Men embrac'd their Party.

12. Ceremonies of themselves are indifferent as to Religion. Nevertheless it is good to observe. 1. That the most Ancient are the best, and that they ought to be held in Veneration, tho they may be alter'd upon weighty and considerable Reasons. 2. That all those which have been reduc'd into the Church since *Constantine* are extremely suspected, because of the Spirit of *Paganism* and Tyranny which began then to Reign. 3. That the Miseries which the *Protestants* have suffer'd from the Church of *Rome* have inspir'd them with an utter Abhorrency of all that has the least Tincture of that Sect. So that it is both Prudence and Charity not to Scandalize other People, through an Affectation to imitate our Enemies in certain Words and Practices, which tho indifferent in their Nature, become baneful and mischievous, because offensive to others. 4. That the Genius of our Age which is very much improv'd in understanding, and the Genius of the Christian Religion, which relates all to the Soul and Conscience, require few Ceremonies. 5. However that some are necessary to prevent the Contempt of Divine Worship and its Ministers.

These are the propositions, that seem to me very probable for the Peace of the Church, and which I judge to be so very clear, that I need

need not go about to prove them. The Reader also, I hope, will pardon my not drawing any Consequences from them, in regard I write for a Re-union, and for that I do not desire to give any Party an occasion to Quarrel with me. Besides there is no Person of a clear judgment, but can apply them himself; and for others they would be wrangling with me at every Turn.

As to the manner how Jesus Christ is present in the Eucharist, there is no Controversie perhaps so vain, nor more easie to be determin'd: tho the Gentlemen of the *Roman* Communion imagin it to be the Foundation of our separation. All the Protestants agree that this Sacrament is a Symbol of the Death of Jesus Christ; a Commemoration of his Sacrifice, and a Pledge of the remission of our Sins; that the Body and Blood of our Crucify'd Saviour, which are given us therein, are the Nourishment of our Souls; that we do not participate thereof but by Faith; and that the wicked do not receive Jesus Christ, but only the Consecrated Signs to their Condemnation; That Jesus Christ is not present but during the use of the Sacrament, that he is not to be there ador'd; that the Bread and Wine continue to be Bread and Wine after the Sacrament; and that we are not to pay any Religious Homage to those Material Elements. So that all the difficulty is to know, how Jesus Christ, who as Man is in Heaven can be at the the same time upon the Earth and present with the Faithful every time that they Communicate worthily. Upon which particular since the Scripture has not told us any thing, we should do well to be silent.

When I consider and contemplate the unsearchable ways of God, I cannot conceive how two understanding Persons, and endu'd with true Piety, can raise disputes about Predestination and Grace. The same Person, who knows not either how Speech is Form'd, or by what Springs we our selves move, will undertake to teach others how God govern's the World, and what he has determin'd in reference to their equals. But to confound the Pride of Human Wit, it so falls out, that the more we reason upon these things the more we find that our understanding fails when we strive to search beyond the bounds of Divine Revelation. If they uphold Predestination to be absolute, they make God the Author of sin, destroy Liberty and all Religion. If it be suppos'd conditionally, we cannot unfold the fore-knowledge of God, nor give any good reasons for the varieties of his favours. Therefore let Men keep close to that which is plain, and to what the Scripture

ture informs us in exprels Terms. That God knows all things, and disposes of all things as he pleases himself. That being the Master of Events, he is also of the heart of Man. Nevertheless that Man is free, that is to say, that he has Power to restrain his judgment in respect of *True* or *False*, of *Good* or *Evil*. That the habit of Ignorance and sin decreases this Liberty, and that it increases by the good use which a Man makes of this understanding and divine Assistance. That God grants his Favour to all those that desire it, and so it is our duty to pray to him, to obey him, and to exhort others so to do, to impute all that is Evil to our selves, and all that is good to the Inspirations of the Holy Spirit. This is that wherein all Christians agree; and the whole being duly consider'd the dispute is reduc'd to one Impenetrable question. It is a greed, that God shares out his benefits very variously, and that he distributes to some more, to some less. The difficulty is to know, whether God affords Grace sufficient to save all and every Particular Man in case they make a good use of it. And who can affirm it Precisely; at least who can pretend to know the bottom of every Mans heart, and the degree of the Efficacy of that Assistance which he has receiv'd?

I will not undertake to describe the Qualities to be requir'd in those that shall be employ'd to accomplish this Union. I make no question but a fit choice will be made of Persons of a Genius and Integrity more then ordinary. I shall only say, 'twill be more difficult to take care of making a good choice. They who have render'd themselves odious to one of the Parties by their Writings embitter'd with Gall, are incapable to discharge this trust, how learned soever they may be. There are some soaring Wits who sway'd by I know not what Fantastical conceits, many times neglect things of great Importance, and apply their Studies wholly to Trifles. There are some so in love with Novelty that they would overturn all things else, to introduce a supposition of their own Invention. Others under the Specious pretence of a Universal Union, would reduce Christianity to Ideas so confus'd and general that natural Morality and Religion would with great difficulty be preserv'd entire. Happy is he that can observe a just *Medium*.

If *France* were humbl'd, Peace once settl'd, *England* and *Holland* strictly United, and the *Protestants* at rest, we should soon see the DOWNFAL of *POPERY*. But least the *Roman Catholics* should be offended, they are to know that this is no desir'd in reference to
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what they look upon as the Fundamental part of their Religion : Let them pray to the Saints, let them adore the Sacrament, Images and Relics, if they think fitting ; let them observe all their Ceremonies ; let them acknowledge the Pope for Head of the Church ; this is nothing at all to us. We will be content, so that they will but solemnly renounce in express Terms, and in a General Council, certain Opinions which the moderate among them openly deny, but yet are generally put in Practice 1. That it is in their power to Excommunicate and depose Heretic Kings, stir up their Subjects to rebel against them, dispose of their Kingdoms to others, and rid their hands of Princes suspected, by Assassination, or otherwise. 2. That Promises and Oaths made to Heretics are of no value ; that they are not oblig'd to keep faith with them ; and that they may be Persecuted and exterminated at all times as occasion shall offer. At least, that the Church of *Rome* in a Body shall Anathematize all those that are of these Opinions, or put them in Practice, since otherwise there is no Assurance for Princes or Private Persons to confide in any Treatys or Contracts which they shall make with those of the *Romish Communion*. Or if they refuse to Condemn this Heresie under the Name of *Popery* let them do it under the Name of *Jesuitism*, which will very well agree with it.

To the People there could be no Tydings more grateful then that of the ABATEMENT OF THEIR IMPOSITIONS ; they are mounted to such a Prodigious excess over all *Europe* unless it be in *England* ; that there is hardly any other Country where a Man may live with convenience. The very Sciences are contemp'd, because they are become mercenary. Arts perish, by reason that the Indigency which oppresses the Artificers, hinders them from bringing any thing to perfection : and though they feel the Goads of Poverty, they are near a whit the more spurr'd on with the thoughts of Honour. The better sort of Families are ruin'd, because of the great expences of House-keeping. The Country is dispeopl'd of honest People, and fill'd with Vagabonds and Debaushées, while the fear of Poverty deters an infinit Number of People from Marrying, and plunges others into wickedness and disorder. There is nothing but cheating in Trade ; and Men begin to be a weary of it by degrees, because it becomes every day more dangerous, more difficult, and less gainful. The Subjects cheat their Sovereign ; and to retaliate his Extortions, as they believe them to be, so generally accustom themselves to deprive him of his rights, that they make no Conscience

ence of it. All places, all Courts are full of Complaints murrings, confiscations, broken Merchants, and Law-suits. For the greatest part of which *Europe* is beholding to the Court of *France*. To this Court are we beholding to those titles of Projectors, and Inventors of Prodigious Numbers of new Imposts. But the worst is, her continuance and dreadful raising of Armies, her Threats, and unexpected Breaches of Leagues and Truces oblige the Neighbouring Princes to keep on foot considerable Forces and constrain them at the same time to drain the Puries of the Subjects. *Heidelberg*, *Manheim*, all the Palatinate, so many Countries, so many Cities which the *French* have laid waste, sackt, burnt, or destroy'd against all the Assurances of plighted Faith; so many poor Creatures as the *French* Court has reduc'd to misery by her Dragoons, Contributions, or rather justify'd Robberies are as so many Voices that cry for vengeance to Heaven, and which threaten all the Christian Potentates in the same manner, if they do not closely Unite to stop the Course of her fury.

THE INCREASE OF TRADE, is one of the usual Fruits of Peace and of the Abatement of Imposts. But in regard the late Treaties of Peace were neither durable nor sincere, but that both sides continu'd still in Arms, there has been no sensible Abatement of the Taxes, nor increase of Trade. Since the Peace of *Nimeghen*, *France* has laid a thousand cruel Imposts upon the *Hollanders* to destroy their Trade, which their High and Mightinesses made out in their Declaration of War against that Crown. But their Union with *England* presents with an assured means and opportunity to regain double to what they have lost. Thirty *English* Vessels are sufficient to cruise upon the Coasts of *Britain* and *Guyen*, and to shut the *French* quite out of the entrance into *Spain* by Sea and stop up their Passage into the Streights of *Gibraltar*. Thirty *Holland* Men of War will wrest the Trade of the *Baltic* Sea and the *Northern Ocean* out of their hands, and keep the Coasts of *Picardy* and *Normandy* in a perpetual Alarm. And then nothing will remain to the *French* but the Commerce of the *Levant* through the *Mediterranean*, which will be more prejudicial then profitable, because it will drain the Coyn of the Kingdom, and overstock it with wares which they will not be able to vend. The reason of it is because the Cities of *Italy* all Trade the same way, and with more conveniences. Add to this that the *English* and *Hollanders* bring the same Merchandizes in great abundance out of the *Levant* and the

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Indies, which only consist in *Drugs, Silks, Cotons, Wax, Hides, Spanish Leather, and Pot-ashes*. So that the *French* being debarr'd the Trade of *Germany, the North of Spain and England*; they will be stor'd with Goods but distitute of Money.

Besides the Trade of the *Levant* cannot extend but from *Marseilles* to *Lion*, and be beneficial to some Cities only upon the *Rhine*: So that all the rest of *France* and all the Coasts of the *Ocean*, will nevertheless be depriv'd of their Trade, there being no vent for the Goods and Manufactures of the Country. We are assur'd, that about a Month since the *Ituff-weavers* were ready to have made an insurrection in *Raven*, upon Information that a Merchant of that City was about to set up a Royal Manufacture. They flew to his House to the Number of four hundred, and constrain'd him to make a Declaration before the *Intendant*, wherein he protested that he never had any such design, and solemnly promised never to enterprize the like again. If Poverty makes them so bold, what will they not dare, when they come to feel the Nips of Pinching Hunger.

'Tis a great Enterprize to bring down the Power of those that make use of it meerly to do us mischief; but it is of far greater Consequence to provide for our own security. *England* and *Holland* joyn'd together will be Masters of the *Ocean*, and consequently cannot stand in want of any thing. But though these two Nations may be strongly Interested to preserve their Union, the *Hollanders* are still more oblig'd to it than the *English*. *Great Britain* is an Inaccessible Island, that stands in little fear of a Foreign Enemy. Whereas the *United Provinces* may be attack'd by Land from the *North, South and East*. They are environ'd with Potent Neighbours, the *Empire, France, Spain and England*. And I dare be bold to say, that how powerful soever they may be in Wealth and Forces, in Proportion to their Territories, they are of too small an Extent, to make head for a long time against any one of these their Neighbours without the Assistance of the other. This the *States General* rightly apprehended from the beginning of their Confederacy, while they had recourse sometimes to *England*, sometimes to *France*, to support themselves against the House of *Austria*. *France* at this present time, is advanc'd to the same degree of Power in *Europe* which render'd *Spain* so formidable when first the *Seven Provinces* United together. And they have had experience in the last War, that *France* was no less eager after the Conquest of their Country than *Philip* the Second was to subdue them under his own, and the Tyranny of the Inquisition.

Inquisition. Of all their Neighbours there are not any, with whom they have greater ties of Friendship than with *Great Britain*: in regard that at this time the Interest of Trade is United to that of Religion. And as if those two ties were not strong enough, Heaven has bequeath'd one Prince to both, to Perpetuate their Union, and to the end those two Nations may joyn together to break the Fetters which *France* was preparing both for them and all the rest of *Europe*.

I was just about to make an end, when the *Sixth Letter concerning the Affairs of the Times* came to my hands; where I read the Title and an Extract of three Libels against the Confederate Princes; but more especially against His Majesty of *Great Britain*, against whom *France* has the greatest Antipathy. When Men are in a violent Passion, 'tis no easie thing to conceal it: Dread and Despaire have seiz'd that Court: It is apparent by all they say, by all they do, and write. Now they flatter the *Empire*, *England*, *Holland*, the *Catholic* Potentates, the *Protestant* Princes, and in a Word all *Europe*, which they vaunted to be beholding to them for her Peace; and threatned not above six months ago with so much Haughtiness. There is none to whom they give an ill Word, but *William* the III. because they see it would be a very Fruitless thing to flatter him. In all outward appearance, they will gain as little by their Colloquing upon the rest of the Princes. Since the Diet at *Ratisbone* has caus'd two of the three *Libels* to be Burnt by the hand of the common Hangman; and dismiss'd the Secretary to *James* II. However though the dread of *France* may seem to shew by her words, how far her Pride is abated, however we find the Traces of her rage and fury by the Devastations of her Troops, depopulating all with Fire and Sword. Is this the way to appease the Princes of the *Empire*, by Sacking and Burning so many of the Cities; and wasting and destroying whatever they cannot carry away?

She exposes the disquiet of her thoughts by the reasons which she alledges, and by the manner of her venting them. They are only *Invectives*, *Contradictions*, and *imaginary Suspicions*. 'Tis true, I never read those three Pamphlets, but the *Letters about the Affairs of the Times* carry so fair a Character of sound Judgment and Sincerity, that we may easily judge of the Resemblance which the Author has to his own works. Never did Writer better support his Arguments; his Reflections neither offend through impertinency, nor do the Spring from whence they flow seem to be in the least exhausted.

ted, while the Author becomes every day more exact and more profound than other. After all not having seen any new reasons in the Extract, I suppose I have refuted all Objections that our Enemies can allege.

However I am far from having drain'd my self in reference to the Subjects which I have handled, that was not my intent; there being few of them which might not be enlarg'd to a considerable Volume. Therefore I hope that the Omissions will not be charg'd upon me for faults, but that if I have said those things which are true and right, they will not be rejected for a slight Error. Besides that I found my self oblig'd to compose this Treatise out of hand, and in haste, remote from my Study, my Friends, or any other Assistance, but a very great Zeal for the Public Good.

I forelaw several other Effects of a Union between *England* and *Holland*, which I did not think it proper to insist upon, since they themselves cannot but be sufficiently sensible thereof. For Example. 1. That Arts and Sciences will Flourish, because the *Protestants* love them, as being the Original of the *Reformation*; and therefore finding themselves at liberty, they will not fail to improve, so much the rather, in regard that King *William* the III. and Queen *Mary* the II. are so much the Favourers of Learned Men. 2. Because the Laws of the Land will for the future be the Rule of Government; seeing that for their sake the Prince of *Orange* took up Arms and expos'd himself to so many dangers. 3. Because that Justice and good Manners, will be more and more observ'd; in regard their Majesties of *Great Britain* are themselves both Just and Equitable, and the True Models of Vertue.

FINIS.